



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



Oxford University
ENGLISH FACULTY LIBRARY

Manor Road
Oxford OX1 3UQ
Telephone: (0865) 249631

EETS es. 32

Opening Hours:

Monday to Friday: 9.30 a.m. to 7 p.m. in Full Term.
(9.30 a.m. to 1 p.m., and 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. in Vacations.)
Saturday: 9.30 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. in Full Term only (closed in Vacations).
The Library is closed for ten days at Christmas and at Easter, on
Encaenia Day, and for six weeks in August and September.

*This book should be returned on or before the latest date
below:*

~~20 NOV 1992~~

~~03 DEC 1992~~

~~21 JAN 1993~~

~~18 FEB 1993~~

~~10 MAR 1993~~

04 DEC 1993

*Readers are asked to protect Library books from rain, etc.
Any volumes which are lost, defaced with notes, or otherwise
damaged, may have to be replaced by the Reader responsible.*

England
in the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

Early English Text Society.

Extra Series. No. xxxii.

1878.

BERLIN: ASHER & CO., 53 MOHRENSTRASSE.
NEW YORK: C. SCRIBNER & CO.; LEYPOLDT & HOLT.
PHILADELPHIA: J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

England

in the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

PART I.

STARKEY'S LIFE AND LETTERS.

WITH AN APPENDIX, GIVING AN EXTRACT FROM

SIR WILLIAM FORREST'S

Pleasant Poesye of Princelie Practise,
1548.

EDITED BY

SIDNEY J. HERRTAGE B.A.,

AUTHOR OF "TUSSEY'S FIVE HUNDRED POINTES OF GOOD HUSBANDRIE."

LONDON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY,
BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.

MDCCCLXXVIII.

Extra Series,

NO. XXXII.

BUNGAY: CLAY AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS.

STARKEY'S LIFE AND LETTERS.

§ 1. <i>The family of Starkey</i> , p. iii	§ 12. <i>Polo's book, De Unionis Brol.</i> , p. xxxi
§ 2. <i>Starkey appointed proctor at Oxford</i> , p. vii	§ 13. <i>Starkey's remonstrance with Pole</i> , p. xxxiv
§ 3. <i>Presented to the living of Great Mongham</i> , p. viii	§ 14. <i>Letters to Cromwell</i> , p. xxxix, xl
§ 4. <i>Applies to Cromwell to be ap- pointed to some office at Court</i> , p. viii	§ 15. <i>Last letter to Polo</i> , p. xlvi
§ 5. <i>Appointed king's chaplain</i> , p. x	§ 16. <i>Letter to Henry on the use to be made of the revenues of sup- pressed monasteries</i> , p. xlvi
§ 6. <i>Dr Sampson's book on the divorce</i> , p. xi	§ 17. <i>Appointed to Corpus Christi Chapel, Cannon Street</i> , p. lxiii
§ 7. <i>Starkey's first letter to Polo</i> , p. xii	§ 18. <i>Starkey's death</i> , p. lxv
§ 8. <i>His second letter</i> , p. xviii	§ 19. <i>Letter to Cromwell</i> , p. lxvi
§ 9. <i>His third letter</i> , p. xxiii	§ 20. <i>Dedication of the Dialogue to Henry</i> , p. lxxiii
§ 10. <i>Letter to Cromwell</i> , p. xxvii	§ 21. <i>Extract from Becon's Jewel of Joy</i> , p. lxxvi
§ 11. <i>Fourth letter to Polo</i> , p. xxvii	

BEYOND what we can glean from a very few public documents and his own statements in his letter to Cromwell, we know little of the life of Thomas Starkey. Practically, the history of his career is little more than the history of the negotiations between Henry VIII. and Reginald Pole with reference to the support which the king hoped to receive from the latter on the two important questions of the legality of his marriage with Queen Katharine, his brother's widow, and the supremacy of the Pope in England. For nearly two years did these negotiations last, and during these two years Starkey was the sole medium of intercommunication. At the time of their commencement he had only lately been appointed chaplain to the king, and with their failure he disappeared from public life, retiring in all probability to the church living which had in December 1536 been bestowed on him, and, as he tells us, utilizing his leisure moments in the composition of his *Dialogue* and other works.

§ 1. Of Starkey's birth and family we know nothing for certain. He

was in all probability descended from a family of high standing and considerable local influence in Cheshire.¹ Of this family we find four distinct branches, but to which of these Thomas Starkey belonged I am unable satisfactorily to ascertain. The four branches were, (1) the Starkeys of Stretton; (2) of Barnton (Cheshire) and Huntryde (Lancashire); (3) of Olton or Oulton; and (4) of Wrenbury.

Thomas Starkey may have been brother to Laurence Starkey (mentioned below), who at that time was the representative of the *second* branch of the family; but he certainly could not have been son, since from an *Inquis. post mort.* we find that the latter's eldest son was only 14 years of age in 1547, when his father died.²

It is also certain that he was not the son nor the brother of the Hugh Starkey, the representative of the *third* branch, also mentioned below, for the latter at his death, in 1555, left but one son (illegitimate), Oliver, who afterwards became Grand Prior of the Knights of Malta;³ and his only brother James was buried beside him in Over Church.⁴

Neither did Starkey belong to the *fourth* branch, for that branch was at the time represented by another Thomas, who was 30 years of age in 1528.⁵

The family of Starkey dates back to an early period of English history, for we find that in the reign of King John, Roger Fitz-Alured granted the Manor of Stretton (Cheshire) to Richard Starkey and his heirs, "to hold as freely as any of the said Richard's ancestors ever held the same, for the service of the tenth part of a knight's fee. And Sir Geffrey de Warburton released unto Thomas Starkey of Stretton, and to his heirs, all his claim in *Villa de Stretton, seu in aliqua Parcella eiusdem, ut de Wardie, Maritagiis, Releviis, Excuetiis, Homagiis, aut Servitiis, que predictus Thomas aut Antecessores sui milii, seu Antecessoribus meis, facere solebant: Datum 4 die Aprilis, 5 Rich. II.* (1382). Yet, notwithstanding, the said

¹ But there was another or a branch of the same family in Kent, and as Starkey held a living near Deal, as mentioned below, it is just possible he may have belonged to this branch.

² See Ormerod, *Hist. of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 1819, I. 474. ³ Ormerod, II. 108, 104.

⁴ Lyeons, *Magna Britannia*, Vol. II, pt. ii. p. 719.

⁵ Ormerod, III. 205.

Thomas and his heirs shall pay yearly to the said Sir Geffrey and his heirs one pair of white gloves on Easter-day for all service."¹

Sir Humphrey Starky, Kt, who belonged to this branch, was Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, appointed 15 June, 1 Edward V., and held the office for some years.²

In 1509 we find an order for Hugh Starkey to be one of the king's sergeants-at-arms,³ and we frequently meet with his name afterwards in the State Papers. Thus, on the 7th January, 1514, we find a lease granted to Hugh Sterkeye, sewer of the Chamber, for 41 years of the Manor of Frodesham, Cheshire, from Michaelmas, 4th Henry VIII., at an annual rent of £48;⁴ and on 22nd January, 1517, the king granted to the same Hugh Starky the forfeited possessions of Roger Wodehowse in Chester, Salop, or elsewhere, of the annual value of £8, lately held by William Smyth from Henry VII., at the rent of one red rose payable at Midsummer. He died in 1555, and was buried in Over Church, Cheshire, which he had restored in 1543, and in the south aisle of which is a window to his memory with his portrait in armour.⁵

A John Sterkey is mentioned amongst the royal officers of the "Hall" as Surveyor.⁶

The name of Laurence Starkey occurs very frequently in the State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII., and he appears to have been a person of some considerable importance. He was trustee of the lands of Edward Stanley, Lord Montegle;⁷ in correspondence with Cromwell and Wolsey; and, as he states in one letter, High Sheriff of the County of Lancashire for the year 1524.⁸

On 18th June, 1522, we find a petition presented from the Convent of St Leonard's, Stratford-at-the-Bowe, London diocese, for assent to the election of Eleanor Sterkey, nun, as prioress, *vice* Helen Hillard,

¹ *Historical Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland*, collected by Sir Peter Leycester, Bart., London, 1673, pp. 353, 354.

² Ormerod, II. 105.

³ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, ed. Brewer, I. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.* I. 719; see also II. pt. ii. p. 1488.

⁵ Ormerod, *Hist. of Chester*, II. 103.

⁶ *Letters and Papers, &c.*, II. 1549.

⁷ *Ibid.* IV. pt. iii. p. 2598. ⁸ *Ibid.* IV. pt. i. p. 111.

deceased;¹ and on the 28th of the same month a *significavit* from William Haryngton, LL.D., Canon and Residentiary of St Paul's, and official of the spirituality of the see of London for William, Archbishop of Canterbury, of his confirmation of Eleanor Starkey as prioress of the Benedictine Priory of St Leonard's, and praying for restitution of the temporalities.² This is followed on the 28th July by a writ to the Escheator of the Counties of Essex and Herts for the restitution of the temporalities on the election of Eleanor Starkey.³

On the 12th June, 1517, an annuity of 10 marks was granted to Thomas Starke out of the lordship of Montgomery, Kery, and Kydyowyn, parcel of the earldom of March, his patent of the 6th February, 4th Henry VII., being invalid by the act of resumption; and on the same date we find a petition from this same person, described as of Wrenburye, Cheshire, to Sir John Dauncey and Robert Blagg, a Baron of the Court of Exchequer, stating that Henry VII. had for his services "at his first entry into this his realm" granted him an annuity of 10 marks out of the earldom of March at Montgomerye, as appears by the king's confirmation of the grant, but that Sir Richard Herberd, the receiver there, owed the petitioner £22 13s. 4d. arrearages, and refused to pay, although ordered to do so by Sir J. Dauncey and Robert Blagg. The petitioner, therefore, prayed them to summon Herberd before them, and compel him to pay the said arrearages.⁴

There is also a second petition from the same to the same, stating that Sir Richard Herberd did not appear before them, either at Hilary term or on the octaves of St Trinity last, though commanded to by their privy seals, and praying for a privy seal of proclamation, ordering Herberd to appear on pain of his allegiance.

Probably it is this same Thomas Starkey whom we find set down for an annuity of £26 13s. 4d. amongst the king's "officers in Wales" in the year 1526.⁵

When Thomas Starkey, the author of the *Dialogue*, was born we have no information, but as he was, in all probability, some years

¹ *Letters and Papers, &c.*, III. p. 986, No. 2331.

² *Ibid.* p. 997, No. 2353.

³ *Ibid.* p. 1015, No. 3407.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. II. pt. ii. p. 1072.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 873.

older than his friend and fellow-traveller Reginald Pole, who was born in 1500, we shall not be far wrong in assigning as the approximate date of his birth the beginning of the last decade of the 15th century.

The services of the family from which I assume him to be descended gave him an introduction to society, but it is only from his letters that we can gain any information as to the manner in which his earlier years were passed. His own words, in his letter to Cromwell asking to be nominated to some appointment in the king's service, seem to imply that he was educated at Oxford, but his name does not occur in *Anthony a Wood*. If the will mentioned below be Starkey's, he probably was educated at Magdalen College.

In company with Reginald Pole he travelled on the Continent, where, especially in Italy, he appears to have made numerous friends, amongst the learned men of the time, with whom he kept up a constant correspondence till the close of his life. In the Cott MSS., Nero B. VI. and VII., are numerous letters addressed to him in Latin and Italian from friends thus made. He had evidently profited by his studies, and was welcomed and esteemed accordingly by the *savants* of Italy. Of the dates of his departure from and return to England we know nothing, but he had certainly returned, as will be seen below, before the end of 1522.

§ 2. The first certain mention of Starkey in any public document which I have been able to discover is contained in a letter from Wolsey to the University of Oxford, dated 21st May, 1522, in which he recommends for proctors *Thomas Starks* and Lawrence Barbar.¹

On the 9th October following the University reply to this letter, stating that they have complied with the request for the appointment of Lawrence Barbar and *Thomas Starks* as proctors, and beg that they may retain for a time their usual form of electing proctors, at least until Wolsey has sufficient leisure for making more suitable arrangements for the University. They acknowledge their great obligations to his bounty, and add that if by his influence their

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.*, ed. Brewer, Vol. III. pt. ii. p. 960.

University may be exempted from contributing to the loan¹ their obligations will be the greater.²

§ 3. On the 31st July, 1530, Starkey was presented by Archbishop Warham to the living of Great Mongeham, diocese of Canterbury, "per resignationem Magistri Thome Luptett, A.M., ultimi Incumbentis ibidem vacantem."³ This living he held till his death.

Great Mongeham is in the hundred of Cornilo, lathe of St. Augustine, and two miles from Deal. The church was dedicated to St Martin, and the living, which is stated to have been of the annual value of £20 1s. 6d., was in the gift of the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁴

§ 4. From this time we do not hear anything of Starkey till some time towards the close of 1534, when we find him writing to Cromwell, with whom he was already acquainted probably through Cardinal Wolsey, asking him to use his influence to procure for him some

¹ For the war.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. III. pt. 2.

³ *Registers of Canterbury Diocese* (preserved in the Lambeth Palace Library), Archbishop Warham, leaf 402, back.

⁴ By the kindness of Col. Chester I have been furnished with a copy of the will (recorded in Book "Pynnyng," at folio 6) of a certain *Thomas Starkey*, Clerk, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, on the 2nd May, 1544, but dated 25th August, 1538, which is, as nearly as we can judge, exactly the date of Starkey's death. In this will the testator desires to be buried in the "Chauncell of Northe Petherton at the discretion of the curat there," and leaves "towards the reparation of the Churche of North Petherton, vi*l*." The will proceeds—" Item I geue to my father Thomas Starkey, in parts of recompence of his greate coste and chargies ypon my bringing vpp, furthring me in good lernyng, xi*l*. Item I geue to the veray honnorable and my singulier good lorde, my lorde Montague, foure pounds to bie hym a hagg." To his brother, "John Starkey," he leaves his "best gowne," and all his books he bequeathes to a Dr Wotton, who is "to take certeyne to his children as he shall thinke profitable to farther theyme in tyme to come to theire lernyng," and the rest, some are to go to "the furnyshyng of the library of Magdalen College," and some to be given to poor scholars. To the family of the Vicar of North Petherton he bequeathes "for theire diligent payne and labours by nighte and day taken abowte me in myne infirmitie and sickness, foure markes of lawfull money of England," from which it would seem that the testator had been, and was then, residing at North Petherton, by the vicar of which place, Sir John Bulen, the will is witnessed. If this be the will of our author, it appears tolerably certain that he was the son of the Thomas Starkey already (p. vi.) mentioned as in receipt of a pension for his services to Henry VII. It is difficult to see what connection Starkey had with North Petherton, or why the will executed in August, 1538, should not have been proved till 1544.

appointment in the king's service, and giving a short sketch of his life and studies.

We are enabled to fix the date of this letter with tolerable certainty by Starkey's own words in his first letter to Pole, and his dedication of his *Dialogue* to Henry VIII. (printed below), in which he says:—"forasmuch as hyt pleysyd your hyghnes, *shortly astur I was admittyd to your gracye seruycce*, to commytt vnto me the wrytyng of your commandment and request to mastur Raynold Pole in the most weyghty cause, wych of many yerys hath byn temptyd in thys your Reame."

The following is his letter to Cromwell:—

(*Harl. 283, leaf 129.*)

Syr, the grete gentylnes of you so manyfestely schowyd toward me, wythe the contynuance of such a benevolent mynd in settynge forward my purpos, gyuuth me yet a lytyl more boldnes to trowbul you wyth the redyng of thys scrole, besechynge you of your patyence therin, whyle I a lytyl more at large schow to you my mynd & purpos, the wyche I had thought to haue downe thes days past presently before you, yf I myght haue found you at a conuenyent leysor to the heryng of the same, for gladly I wold that you schold a lytyl more playnly know wyth what hart & mynd I wold serue the kyng wythal. And fyrst, for as much that you may peraventure juge, that I, mouyd only by the hygh authoryte wherin hyt hathe plesyd the kyngys hyghnes most worthyly to set you, so much desyre by your specyal preferment to be set forward to the kyngys seruycce now at thys tyme, I schal besech you of your gentylnes not to take me so, for, albe-hyt that by your authoryte I wyl not deny I am somewhat mouyd in dede, yet certaynly thys to you I wyl affirme, yf ther were not other causys joynyd thereto wych more scharpely styr and pryke my mynd then dothe that, I, beyng to you so vnknownen as I am, wold never haue temptyd nor enterprysyd such a purpos wyth you: for yf I had not found at such tyme as I fyrt salutyd you at home, a synguler humanyte & gentylnes in you, and yf I had not much herd of your gudnes in settynge forward at honest purposys, ye and yf I had not seen & perceyuyd your excellent wysedome & your other vertues, most worthy of al hygh authoryte, I thynke I had never conceyuyd thys purpos, I thynke I had never set my selfe in thys case, wherein my specyal trust ys more to be to you bounden than in the rest of my lyfe wyth any seruycce I can deserue; for of thys I assure you I am not of so vyle & base of stomake as for to optayne any benefyte wordly, to desyre to be bounden to any man whome I can not wyth hart and mynd reuerently both honoure & loue. Wherfor of thys I schal besech you to be

persuaydyd euer surely to haue in me such a hart and stomake as ys conuenyent to be in hym, who to you of al other schal be most bounden. And now, Syr, to the intent that you may somewhat perceyue such pore qualytes as be in me, and so therapon wth your benevolent mynd you may set forward somewhat better my purpos, I schal breuely schowe vnto you the ordur, processe, & end of al my studys. Fyrst, here in oxforth a grete parte of my youthe I occupyd my selfe in the study of phylosophy, joynyng thereto the knolege of both tongys bothe latyn & greke, and so aftur passyd ouer in to Italy, whereas I so delytyd in the contemplacion of natural knolege—wherin the most parte of men lettryd ther occupye themselfys—that many tymys I was purposyd to haue spend the rest of my lyfe holly therin, tyl at the last, mouyd by chrystyan charyte, phylosophy set apart, I applyd my selfe to the redyng of holy scripture, jugyng al other secrete knolege not applyd to some vse & profyt of other to be but as a vanyte. wherfor in the study of holy letturya certayn yerys I spent, aftur the wyche, by-cause my purpos then was to lyue in a poltyke lyfe, I set my selfe now thes last yerys past to the knolege of the cnyule Law, that I myght therby make a more stabyl and sure iugement of the poltyke ordur & custumys vsyd amoneg vs here in our countrey. aftur thys maner In dyuerse kyndys of studys I haue occupyd my selfe, euer hauyng in mynd thys end & purpos at the last here in thys commynalty where I am brought forth & borne to employ them to some vse; and though in them I haue not most profytyd, yet dyligence & wyl hathe not lakkyd thereto: but what so euer hyt ys that I haue by the gudenes of god attaynyd vn-to I schal most gladly, aftur your iugement & aduyse, apply hyt to the seruyce of our prynce, and therby reken my selfe to attayne a grete parte of my felycete. Wherfor I beseach you, syr, as you of your only gudnes haue begun, so at your plesure & conuenyent lesor to helpe forward thys my purpos, and then schal I be to you more bounden then I am yet to any mortal man lyuyng.

Your assuryd seruant
Thomas Starkey.

Endorsed

to Mr Secretary Cromwell touching the course of hys
Lyffe, studyes and Travilles. [End of 1534.]

§ 5. In accordance with Starkey's request, Cromwell appears to have used his influence with the king, for we find him in February, 1535, holding the post of chaplain to Henry, who, it would seem, soon entertained a high opinion of him, since within a few months of his appointment he was intrusted with the delicate commission of ascertaining the views of Reginald Pole on the two questions of the legality of the king's marriage with Queen Katherine and of the supremacy of the Pope.

It would be out of place here to give any lengthened account of the events which led to this. It will be sufficient to recall the fact that the Pope, Clement VII., had, on the 23rd of March, 1534, in accordance with the decision of a consistory of cardinals, declared Henry's marriage with Katherine valid and indissoluble; while the parliament in England, on the other side, pronounced the marriage with Anne Boleyn lawful, and confirmed Henry's title of supreme head of the English Church, prohibiting every kind of payment to the Pope, and vesting in the king alone the right of appointing to all bishoprics, and of deciding in all ecclesiastical causes.¹

§ 6. Previously to the introduction of the bills on the subject into parliament, the whole question had been considered by the Privy Council in 1533, when nineteen articles were drawn up,² which were embodied in certain resolutions of the Council on the 2nd December, the first of which runs as follows:—

“Acta in Concil[i]o Domini Regis, 2ndo Decembr.

“First. That the conclusions mentioned in the first article of this book, with the circumstances thereof, be committed to Mr Dean [Dr Sampson, Dean of the King's Chapel] and the almoner [Dr Fox] and other Doctors; to search their books and to make an answer again thereupon to the Lords of the Council by Fryday and Saturday next.”³

Dr Sampson accordingly wrote and published a treatise on the question of the supremacy with the following title:—

“Richardi Sampsonis, Regii Sacalli Decani, oratio; qua docet, hortatur, admonet omnes, potissimum Anglos, regiae dignitati cum primis ut obedient, quia uerbum Dei præcipit: Episcopo Romano ne sint audientes, qui nullo iure diuino in eos quicquam potestatis habet, postquam ita jubet Rex, ut illi non obedient. Qui contra fecerint eos præcipue docet legem diuinam contumere. Non est ergo

¹ Froude, *Hist. of England*, II. 208.

² See MS. Cott., Cleop., E. VI., ff. 813. The first, which is referred to above, runs as follows:—Fyrate. To sende for all the bishopes of this realme and speyallie for such as be nerest vnto the Courte, and to examyn them a parte whether they by the law of god can prove and iustifie that he that now is called the pope of Rome is aboue the generall counsaille, or the generall counsaille aboue him. Or whether he hath gyuen vnto him by the law of god any more auctoryte within the realme then any other Foreyn Bishop.”

³ MS. Cott., Cleop., E. VI., ff. 817.

quod sibi timeant Angli de humana quavis potestate episcopi Rhomani, qui aliam quam humanam, hoc est humano consensu, in Anglos non habet. Obediant igitur Deo non homini.

“ Hæc est ueritas Dei firmata.

“ Londini, in Aedibus Tho. Bertheleti ” (no date).

It consists of 14 leaves, 4to, with the colophon—“ Thomas Bertheletus Regius Impressor Excudebat. Cum privilegio.”

In this treatise Dr Sampson vindicated the king's action in assuming the title of “ Supreme Head of the Church,” and confuted the claim of the Pope to any jurisdiction in England. He grounded the king's right to supremacy, ecclesiastical and civil, upon the two texts—“ Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God ; the powers that be are ordained of God ; ”¹ and “ Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake ; whether it be the king, as supreme,” &c.² Kings, therefore, he argued, were God's vicars and representatives here on earth, and should be obeyed accordingly ; but the Pope had no jurisdiction outside his province, and had no more power in England than the Archbishop of Canterbury at Rome.³

With this treatise the king was greatly pleased, and it was published with his authority and approval, and copies were sent to all persons of importance at home and abroad.

Henry was extremely anxious to have Dr Sampson's book approved and supported by some name of acknowledged standing, and naturally his thoughts were directed towards Reginald Pole, who had now attained to such a position that his opinion would carry the greatest weight, and, more than all others, induce the waverers to give their support to the king.

§ 7. Reginald Pole, the second son of Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, was born at Stoverton, or Stourton, Castle, in the year 1500. He had been treated by Henry with especial favour ; had been educated at the king's expense ; had been, while still a boy, appointed to a rich ecclesiastical benefice, and would doubtless, had his inclination or his views permitted him, have

¹ Romans xiii. 1.

² 1 Peter ii. 18.

³ See Strype, *Books. Monas.*

attained to the highest position in the English Church. He had studied at Paris and Padua with such good results that, as he himself in 1536 states in a letter to the king, he, though still a young man, "had long been conversant with old men; had long judged the oldest man that lived too young for him to learn wisdom from."¹ He had not, however, been able to assent to the resolutions of parliament and convocation relative to the divorce of Henry from Queen Katherine, and he had in consequence applied for and obtained leave to reside for a time at Avignon, whence he afterwards removed to Padua. Meanwhile the king's feelings towards him had remained unchanged; the revenues of the deanery of Exeter and his pension were regularly paid to him, and he was exempted specially from the condition required of all holders of ecclesiastical benefices, of swearing allegiance to the issue of Anne Boleyn. To him, therefore, the king's thoughts naturally turned, and in conversation with Starkey he inquired from him what he believed to be Pole's sentiments on the subject of the Pope's supremacy and the divorce, and whether, if applied to, he would be likely to write in favour of Dr Sampson's book. To these inquiries Starkey answered cautiously, that, although he was confident that Pole's hearty desire was to do the king service, yet as to his opinions on these subjects he could say nothing, since Pole had always preserved a strict silence on the point. This answer did not satisfy the king, and he therefore ordered Starkey to write to Pole and communicate to him his wishes. Starkey accordingly writes as follows:—

(15 February, 1535.)

(1) *Syr, I most hertaly command me vn to you, and where as I haue byn somewhat sloo in wrytyng syne I arryuyd hyther to our cuntrey, (where as I bere the ayre bettur then I dyd wyth you in Italy) I wyl now my slaknes therin by the lenghthe of thys in some parte recompense the wych I trust schal no thyng offend you but bryng to you grete pleasure & comfort. Syr, as you know syth our fyrt acquyntance & famlyaryte many letturus ther hath byn at sundry tymys betwyx vs wryten, & much communyacyon ther hath byn also con-*

Abstract.

(1) Promises to atone for past remissness in correspondence by the length of this letter, which he entreats Pole to consider seriously

¹ Strype, *Eccles. Memor.*, II. 805.

² Harl. MS. 283, leaf 181.

caryng the Instytution of our lyfys, wylth such fydelite mynstryd upon both partys as was conuenyent to the syncerenes of our harty & myndys, but yf euer any of thes you hane jugyd to be worthy of remembrance, or yet dow styke in your memory & mynd, I besech you let thes few wordys wylch I now to you wryte be put in the nombur of them, wylth gud aduertysement and cosyderacyon of the same, for the[y] concerne the hole ordur of your lyfe here aftur to be lade in thys our cuntrey among your natural louerys & frendys. (2) Syr, I was but late by the synguler gentylnes of Maystur Secretary, wos gudnes bothe toward me & also to you ys so sonke in to my brest, that duryng my lyfe I schal euer reken my selfe next to our prynce aboue al other most faythfully to hym bounden, for in the court to the kyngys seruyce and by hys most louyng commendacyonys so graciously of hys hyghnes acceptyd & admittyd that schortly aftur hyt plesyd the same to cal me to hys presence, and ther of you, of your studys, and of your sentence & opynyon in hys gracys most weyghty causys here late defynyd, most louyngly many thynghys to demande ; to the wylch I made such awnswere, as euer I haue jugyd conuenyent to be made before the maiesty of a prynce ; that ys, such thynghys as I knowe manyfest & true playnly to affyrme, and such wherof I stond in dowte by conjecture only to reherce : and so your mynd, hart & desyre to dow hys grace true & faythal seruyce, wylch I know no other wyse then I know myn owne, I boldly dyd affyrme, but as touchyng your opynyon in hys gracys late defynyd causys, one of the matrymony, the other concerning the authoritye of the pope, for as much as you euer haue vsyd thys prudent sylence neuer to dysclose your sentence & mynd but in tyme & place, I conde not of your opynyon any thyngh therin playnly affyrme, but yet thys to hys hyghnes I sayd & surly I thought, that as fer as your lernyng & jugament, wylch I estymyd by tyme & dylygent study somewhat was alteryd & increasyd, also touchyng the dyscernyng betwyx goddys law & manmys wold streche & extend, al your powar & al such knolege & lernyng as by the gudnes of god & hys gracys lyberalyte you had obtaynyd & got, to the mayntenyng of such thynghys as hys gracys wyesdome by court of parlyament therin had decreed, you wold gladly confer to the honoure of hys hyghnes & welth of hys reame. (3) thys much I sayd, thys fer I want, but hys grace not satyafyd therwyth, desyryng to have your sentence therin playnly declaryd, commandyd me thys now to wryte to you, that hys pleasure was that you schold lyke a lernyd man, al assertyon by any cause rysyng set asyde, in thos ij causys

Abstract.

(2) Has been appointed chaplain to the king, who had questioned him as to Pole's opinion respecting the divorce, &c., to which he had answered that Pole had never openly declared his opinion, but that he felt confident that his earnest wish was to please the king. (3) Henry, not satisfied with this, had ordered him to desire Pole to

pondur and wey the nature of the thyngys as they be in them selfe, and puttynge a-parte al successys & daungerouse effectys wych of them may insue, leuyng al such thyngys to hys gracys wysedome & hys pollicy, declare your sentence truly & playn wythout coloure or cloke of dyssimulatyon, (wych hys grace most pryncely abhorryth,) not wyllyng you of thes thyngys to make any grete volume or boke but breuely to geddur the most effectual resonys wych in your stomake be of most weyght, & them to set forth astur your playn fascyon & maner of wrytyng. thys was hys gracys pleasure & commandement that I schold to you wryte, wych I haue as nere as my memory wold serue me therin truly & faythfully now to you exere[y]syd. (4) now, syr, considur and prudently wey how pryncely a request thys ys of oure prynce, and then I am sure you wyl employ your selfe wyth al dylygence & study to satisfye hys nobul desyre, to the wych also mastur secretary, (whose mest louyng gudnes toward you gyuuth place to no man) most gentyly doth exhort you, wyllyng you also in any case, what so euer your sentence in thes causys schal be, to vse your wont & custumyd playnes wyth prudent symplaycye, and me apon hys behalfe thys to certfyfe you, that in case be your lernyng & jugement in thes materys of weyght wold strecch & extend to the satysfyng of the kyngys desyre & mynd, that then your retorne hyther to your cuntry schold be gretely to the kyngys pleasure, to your owne comfort, & much profyt to the rest of your frendys; ye and yet ferther, yf so be that your knolege & lernyng wold not serue you to thys purpos & request of the kyng, yet notwythstondyng wold he aduyse you, of a tendur & louyng mynd, to prepare yourselfe at your conuenyent leser toward your cuntry, dawtyng no thyng but [th]at the kyngys hyghnes in other hys causys & hys assayrys schal vse your seruice & most louyng & seruysabul mynd. for sory he ys that ther among straungerys wythout profyt to your cuntry your vertues schold be so vitturly drownyd & lyke as in a dreme vanysch away. (5) wherby, syr, you may playnly perceyue the gentilnes of hys stomake & synguler gudnes to al men of honesty, wych to you almost vnaequaynted & of smal famillyaryte beryth suche mynd, mouyd only by the opynyon of vertue, wych to hym fame hath reportyd, in so much that thys he wyllyd me now by my letturys of hys gudnes and beseuolent mynd, so to assure you, that in al such thyngys as myght touche your preferment to my lady your mother & my lord your brother whome nature so straytly byndyth only he wold gyue place: wherin he

Abstract.

state in writing briefly, but openly and sincerely, his opinion on the two points. (4) Has been further desired by Cromwell to assure him that, should his opinion be favourable to the king, his return to England would be very welcome; but that in any case he is to prepare to return, as the king would be glad of his advice and assistance in other weighty matters. (5) Assures him that Crom-

STARKEY

b

schowyth so gentyl a stomake that I dare thys boldly now say that, yf euer hereaftur hyt schalbe your chaunce presently here of thys mynd in hym experyence to take, you schal as I dow for hys vertues & not only for hys authoryte haue hym in stabyl & reuarent loue, such ys hys wyedome & in materys of state hys hygh pollicy. and thus now you haue hard the most prudent aduyse & synguler beneuolence of mastur secretary, to the wych I dows not but that wyt grete gladnes you wyl apply yourselfe, wylyng therby to satysfyre our prynceys pleasure & desyre. And now, syr, for by-cause syth our last departure out of our cuntrey lytyl communyeacyon concerning thes materys hathe byn betwyx vs had, I wyl now adioyne thes few wordys vn to you. (6) Pondur you wel thys leuytical law & how hyt ys rotyd in the law of nature, and how by general conseyl hyt hath byn many tymys declaryd & authorysyd therby, and forther how apon the other syde the aklendurnes of thys long vsurpyd & abusyd authoryte of the pope, wych by pacience of pryncys, simplicyte of the pepul, & ambycyouse auaryce of hys predecessorys, in processe of tyme by lytyl & lytyl ys growen to thys intollerabul iniquyte, and then I thynk that you schal see in thes causys the jugyd truth & playn equyte. But al thys I leue to your owne cosyderacyon & iugement, praying to hym, of whome to al men cumyth al lyght, that by hys lyght & grace you may see the truth, & so then to set hyt forth that hyt may be comfort to our prynce, pleasure to your selfe and to al other here your louarys & frendys. And thus now, syr, I wyl make an end, fynychyng my letturys wytth comfortabul newys that al such rumor & fame wytch by men of corrupt iugement not hauyng dyscretyon to juge & dyscarne betwyx veray & true relygyon & lyght & false superstycyon syth was in Italy you dyuulgyd, ys vtturly false & ful of vanyte. (7) For of this dowsyng you nothyng, that albehyt apon many resonabul & iuste causys our most nobul prynce hathe wythdrawn hymselfe from the popys authoryte, yet from the certayn & sure groundys of scripture hys grace in no poynt ys slyde, no nor yet from the lawys nor ceremonys of the church, the wych yet stond in ful strength & authoryte; and so the[y] schal boldly I dare affirme, vntyl such tyme that to hys hyghnes & to hys most wyse conseyl hyt schal appere expedient them to abrogate & other to substytute by commyn assent more agreabul to thys tyme and to the nature of our men, & also to our hole cuntrey more conuenyent. here ys no thyng downe wythout due ordur & resonabul mean; here ys touchyng

Abstract.

well is prompted only by a sincere love for him. (6) Expresses his confidence that Pole, on consideration of the matter, will see the truth to be on the king's side. (7) Assures Pole that there is no truth in the report that the king had separated himself from the Church of Rome in points of doctrine, or had ordained new rites and ceremonies. Had it been so he himself would never have entered the king's service.

relygyon nothyng almost alteryd at al but that wych was of al other most necessary, wych ys, as I trust, & schalbe a veray ground & a foundatyon to cyuyle ordur & a true & ryght pollicy. thys ys the state here, and of thys one thyng I dow you assure, yf I had found truth in dede thes thyngys wych by mysreport ther wyth you were commynly sayd, as that our prynce schold be slypt also from the groundys of scripture, from the honowre of the sacramentys, & from al the commyn Lawys & holosome ceremonys of the church wythout ordur, I wold never have byn so wythout sense or stomake of an honest man, as st thys tyme to haue sought to entur to hys seruyc; for the desyre wych I haue long nuryschyd in my brest to serue thys our mastur & prynce ys in thys stabyl, & I trust euer schalbe, in hys seruyc to serue god & my cuntrey, to the wych purpos the rest of my lyfe I wyl now dedycate to hys grace & wyth such hart & mynd serue hym wythal as ys conuenyent to a true faythful & chrysyan subiect toward hys most nobul & catholyke prynce: thys ys my mynd & I am sure the same ys yourys, the wych I trust in factys you schal haue place schortly to declare & thys I commyt you to god. At London the xv of Februry,

By yourys assuryd,
Thomas Starkey.

Endorsed,

Thomas Starkey to his frend in Italy wishing him to
geve his opinyon to the kinges grace touching his oppinyon for the
Altering of Relygeon and the Abolishing of the popes Authoritye.

The bribe, however, thus plainly offered to Pole did not produce its effect so soon as the king expected. Writing on the 12th April, Pole merely acknowledged the receipt of Starkey's letter, excusing the delay in answering it by the plea that it had come to him by way of Florence, and had been delayed on the road. He promised, however, that he would with all diligence apply himself to the consideration of the subject, and endeavour to satisfy the king's request as stated by Starkey; namely, that he would "in few wordys, clerly & playnly, without coloure or cloke of dyssymulacyon," declare his opinion on the matters in question.

Starkey, who evidently had begun to feel ill at ease in consequence of the non-receipt of any answer to his letter, felt relieved at this explanation, but lost no time in pressing the matter on Pole, and supporting the views expressed by him in his former letter by additional arguments. But this was not the sole nor indeed the principal object of this second letter. More especially was he anxious

to explain to Pole certain events which had in the interval occurred in England, and which were liable to be misrepresented abroad.

The most important of these was the execution, on the 5th of May, of certain monks of the Charterhouse and others for refusing to subscribe to the doctrine of the king's supremacy, or to proclaim in their churches and chapels that the Pope was Antichrist. The system adopted with regard to them was simple and expeditious; they were condemned of high treason and hanged. Other executions followed on the 18th June.

§ 8. Such an event as this was eminently calculated to excite the indignation of the Court of Rome, more especially as it would in all probability be greatly exaggerated and misreported. With the view, therefore, of acquainting Pole with the true facts of the case, on which he could speak with authority (having been, as he tells Pole, one of those sent by Cromwell to try to persuade Reynolds to give way and acknowledge the king's supremacy), and of freeing his mind from the ill effects of such misrepresentations as might have reached him, Starkey writes as follows: ¹—

(End of May or June 1535.)

(1) Syr, I am glad that at the last, by your letturys of the xij of Apryle to Johan Walker, we haue hard of the receyete of such letturys as were wryte vn to you concerningyng the kyngys pleasure; for much I maruelyd that of thys long tyme I had no thynge of the delyuerance of the same, wych I now perceyue was by cause the letturys cam to you by the way of Florence. but how so euer hyt was that they were kept from you, glad I am that at the last they are arryuyd to your handys, and much more glad that by the ² few wordys you wrote in hast I perceyue you wyl wyth al dylygence apply your selfe to satysfye the kyngys most nobul request & pleasure, wych was, in few wordys clerly & playnly, wythout coloure or cloke of dyssymulacyon, to schow your sentence in hys lately defynyd causys, the wych thynge I am sure you wyl dow wyth glad hart and mynd, for yf I know you wel in such causys you wyl not dysymbul wyth a kyng (from the wych dyssymulacyon I neuer see to thys day wyth any man a mynd more abhorryng): therfor what so euer your sentence schalbe in the materys requyryd I boldly hane affyrmyd, both to the kyngys hyghnes & also to Maystur Secretory,

Abstract.

(1) Is glad to see by Pole's letter of 12th April that he promises

¹ MS. Cleop. E. VI., leaf 358.

² MS. they.

that hyt schalbe vnfaynyd & pure, wythout cloke of dyssymulacyon, of the wych sincere jugement in you the kyng ys desyrouse by-cause perauentur in some other hys grace hath byn therin deceyuyd.

(2) Syr, of the inclanatyon of your mynd in thys behalfe, though the ful declaratyon you reserve to long leyser, yet in some parte to Maystur Secretory by your next letturye you may sygnyfy, when you make answere to hys letturye dyrectyd to you, the wych I am sure before thys tyme by the embassador of Venyce are come to your handys. And, syr, as touchyng the mater of the popys authoryte, we here, your frendys, put no dowte but therin you schal to the ful satysfactyon of the kyngys mynd see the jugyd truthe: for neuer can I thynke, when I consydur your jugement and lernyng, that you can be of thys sentence that such a hede, or such superyoryte schold be of the Law of God & to the saluatyon of man of hys necessyte, the wych sayn Jerome playnly affyrmyth to be constytute *in remedium scismatis* & not to be of such necessite (in *epistola ad euagrum*). (3) And yf I haue any Iugement in any other kynd of letturye or dyuynyte thys I dare say, that thys superyoryte of long tyme gyuen to the pope only by the patyence of pryncys *et tacito quodam christiani populi consensu*, by processe of tyme ys growen in as a thynge conuenyent to the conseruatyon of the chrystyan vnyte, but in no case to be of such necessyte, that, wythout the same, chrystyan myndys may not attayn to theyr saluatyon nor kepe the spiritual vnyte: ye and yf you wey the mater wel I thynke you schal ferther fynd thys superyoryte, as hyt hath byn of many yerys vsyd, nothyng to be conuenyent at al to the conseruatyon of the poltyk vnyte, the wych thynge as you know bettur than I, to whome storys are bettur knownen, hath byn the gretyst brake that in memory we haue to al chrystyan cyuylite; for what chrystyan pryncys haue we who one a-gayn a nother hath not drawnen theyr swordys for the mayntenance of thys authoryte? And dayly I besech hym that gouernyth al that in our days we see not the same; but aftur my pore fancy bettur hyt ys though hyt be wyth some daungere, to cut vp such a rote of sedycyon in al chrystyan cyuylite, then let hyt remayn to the contynual destrucyon of our postertye. Thes thynghys I am sure you see wyth a hygher & deeper consyderatyon then I can attayn vn-to, wher-by you schal I trust in thys behalfe satysfy the kyngys mynd & pleasure. For sory hys hyghnes wold be to see you not to reche vn-to so manifest a truthe, (as I haue perceyuyd of hys grace at sundry tymys when hyt hath plesyd hys hyghnes to talke of you to the declaratyon of hys nobul affecte wych he beryth toward you).

Abstract.

to endeavour to satisfy the king's request. (2) He and all Pole's other friends are confident that the result of his examination of the subject will be to the king's satisfaction. (3) Declares his own conviction that the supremacy of the Pope is not essential to man's salvation,

(4) And as touchyng the mater of the fyrist maryage, I dowte not also but when you ley togyddur wythout any affectyon the weyght of such maryage betwyx brother & systur, & the sklendurnes of such powar as the pope had in such causys to dyspense, you schal schortly by your wyesedome see of that maryage the inconuenency, so that in both partys grete hope I haue to see you satysfy the kyngys pleasure and mynd, and then schortly aftur wyth grete comfort both to your selfe & to your frendys so to retorne in to our natyfe euntry, here to fynysch the rest of your lyfe in quyettnes & tranquillyte.

(5) And where as sklanderouse fame & mysreport may perauenetur put you in suspycyon of the contrary, for as much as before thys I am sure hyt ys blouen abrode in Italy how here are put to deth monkys of the charturhouse, men notyd of grete sanctyte, you schal vnderstoned in few wordys the truth of the same to the intent you may by the declaratyon therof, as much as lyth in you, stoppe such mysreport as may therby be made to the skaundyr of our natyon & cuntry. Fyrst you schal vnderstoned in the laste parlyament an acte to be made that al the kyngys subiectys schold, vnder pain of treason, renounce the popys superioryte, to the wych acte as the rest of our natyon wyth one consent dyd agre so dyd thes munkys, iij pryorys & Raynoldys of Syon, the wych now of late, contrary to theyr othe & also to the acte, retornyd to theyr old obediance, affyrmyng the same by theyr blynd superstycyouse knolege to be to the saluatyon of man of necessyte, & that thys superioryte to the pope was a sure truth and manifest of the Law of god, and a thyngh wych was of chrysyst instytute as necessary to the conseruacyon of the spiriual vnyte of thys mystical body of chrysyst. In thys blyndnes theyr superstycyouse myndys were stablyd, lakkynge jugement to dyscerne the dyuersyte betwyx the vnyte spiriual & the vnyte poltycal, wych they thought schal run to ruyne for lake of thys hede whome they made immedyate, juge vnder chrysyst, on whose jugement al, as of the vycar of chrysyst, chrysystian men ought of necessyte to hange. In thys opynyon most sturdily stode Raynoldys, whome I haue hard of yore many tymys praysyd, who was so rolyd therin that he could admyn no reson to the contrary. Dyuerse were sent to them in pryon by the kyngys commandement to instruct them wyth the truthe, but in that opynyon both he & the rest were so blyndyd & sturdy that nother they could.

Abstract.

but rather a cause of dissension and sedition. (4) As regards the divorce, he is certain that Pole will at once see the impropriety of a marriage between a brother and sister, and that the Pope has no power of dispensation in such cases. (5) As to the execution of the Charterhouse monks, they had been put to death for affirming the Pope's supremacy to be an essential article of belief, contrary to an Act of Parliament lately passed, and were therefore guilty of treason, for

see the truth in the cause, nor yet gyue conuenyent obedyence due to such personys, as of them selfe can not see the truthe. Wherfor, accordyng to the course of the law, as rebellys to the same, & dysobedyent to the prynceyly authoryte, and as personys wych, as much as lay in them, haue rotyd a sedycyon in thys commynalty, they most justely haue suffryd thys wordly dethe, whose synnys & blyndnes I besech our lord pardon.

(6) Thys ys the truth of thys mater, wherof I can certaynly assure you, for by the lycene & commandement of Master Secretory I was admytyd to here Raynoldys raysonys, & to confer such lyght as god hath gyuen me in the same cause wyth hym. In whome I promys you I nother found strong rayson to mayntene hys purpus, nor yet grete lernyng to the defence of the same. Wyth hym I conferryd gladly, for sory I was for many causys that a man of such fame as he was here notyd both for vertue & lernyng, schold dye in such a blynd & superstycouse opynyon, but no thyng coulde avayle but that he wold in that opynyon as a dysobedyent person to the kyngys lawys suffur hys deth, wyth the other of the same mynd; wherof they them selfe were the cause, is so much that hyt semyd to me they sought theyr owne deth, of the wych no man can be justely accusyd but they themselfe. Thys thyng, syr, as occasyon, tyme & place doth requyre, you may commyn ther, as you schal thynke hyt expedient, and to such as you may perceyue by myreport are other ways informyd, for thys ys the truth, that I haue breuely touchyd by thes letturya vn to you.

After Starkey had written as above, but, as it seems, before he had despatched his letter, he received a further communication from Pole, dated 22nd April, in which he promises to consider the matter carefully, and to examine into all the ecclesiastical and other authorities on the point. It would seem from a passage in Starkey's reply to this letter that Pole had stated that a couple of months or so would intervene before he could forward his written opinion. To this the king does not appear to have raised any objection, but only to have repeated his wish that Pole would not make any "grete or long volume" on the matter, but state his views as briefly as possible. Starkey accordingly wrote to Pole (MS. Cott., Cleop. E. VI., leaf 360).

Abstract.

which, and not for their religion, they were condemned. (6) Of the facts of the case he could speak with authority, having been sent by Cromwell to argue with Reynolds, whom he had found blinded by superstitious obstinacy. He himself regrets the death of these men very much, and hopes Pole will correct any misreport of the matter.

(1) After I had wryte thys much vn to you perceyuyng your mynd somewhat of your letturus to Johan Walker, wych were receyuyd apon Wytson morn, the same day at nyght I receyuyd your letturus to me of the xxij of apryle, the tenoure wherof I haue schowyd to the kyngys hyghnes, who gratefully toke your mynd as I cond perceyue, but somewhat meruelyng that you schold take so much pleasure in your quyat & scolastycal studys, as I schowyd hys grace you dyd, wylling you in thes materys requiryd, accordyng to your duty, as wel toward hys hyghnes as toward your cuntrey, to set aparte al such scolastical respectys, to the declaratyon of your lernyd jugement, wherby you myght in settynge forth such a truth profyt your cuntrey, the wych thyng I am sure you wyl, so I affyrmyd, that you wold dow (2) By al thes ij monethys your sentence schalbe lokyd for, in the declaratyon wherof, as I haue wryte to you before, you schal not neade to wryte any grete or long volume, but tempur your style, as your prudence, lernynge & jugement schal serue you therin, in the wych tryng our lord gyue you hys lyght that you may see the sure & certayn truthe : wherof I haue grete hope when I consydur the saying of scripture, wherin hyt ys sayd that by puryte of mynd the lyght of truth ys sonyst perceyuyd, and your mynd to thys day I haue not yet knownen spottyd wthy any notabul affectyon. (3) Maystur Secretory also, of hys most gentyl & louyng mynd toward you and of hys grete wysedome & synguler prudence, wylling you to pondur thys thyng wel, that ys of secrete & quyat studys the vncertayne frute, wych hengyth for the most parte of the blynd Jugement of the redar & of the posteryte, and apon the other syde the wyse & prudent handelyng of controveursys of weyght in thys our present age, to the ordur wherof we in thys tyme specyally be of nature borne & brought forth, as the posteryte to materys of theyr tyme, the close & manyfeast defynytion wherof also hathe annexyd and joynyd thereto sure & certayn frute wych ys the stablyschyd quyvetnes of the commyn wele—by the ponderyng of thys he jugyth in some parte you may be mouyd resonably at the last for a certayn tyme to set aparte your scolastycal studys, to the wych also you may as tyme & occasyon schal serue you thereto haue recourse agayne. (4) Maystur Baynton also, vy[ce]chamburleyn to the quene, your old louer & frende, to whome the kyngys pleasure ys not vnknowen, aftur most hartye comendatyonys, apon hys behalfe wylled me thys to wryte to you, that you schold wel consydur

Abstract.

(1) Acknowledges receipt of Pole's letter of 22nd April, which he had shown to the king, who had expressed his satisfaction at it, but (2) hoped that Pole will not make any great volume on the subject, nor consume too much time in searching into the writings of ancient scholars which were not suited to the altered state of things ; in which hope (3) Cromwell and (4) his friend Baynton join, the latter impressing on Pole the nature and extent of his obligations to the king.

how the kyngys hyghnes most gracyously serhyth, & euer hath downe, a conuenient mean to set you in such case that he myght accordyng to the fame of your vertues & merytys handyl & intrete you; and ferthermore wel to consydur how much the kyng of hys grete gudnes gyuyng vn-to your lernyng & Jugement, whom he knowyth much wyllyng to haue your consent in hys grete cansys although they be defynyd alredy, in so much that your jugement therto can lytyl avaunce, except perauentur in some parte to the confirmacyon therof. Thes thynges I was wyllyd to wryte vnto you to wryte, wych, though hyt gretaly nedyd not at al for bycause you of your selfe are sufficently styrred to the fulfyllyng of the kyngys pleasure therin, yet I jugyd hyt to pertayne to my duty both toward you & toward them to certyfyre you therof, wherin I can no more say but pray to god to gyue you such lyght as ys conuenient to that mynd wych labouryth for the ensarchyng of the truth.

On the 3rd June Pole wrote again to Starkey. He repeated his promise to give the subject his most careful consideration, and reiterated more strongly his earnest desire and readiness to do all in his power to serve the king and fulfil his pleasure; but he added that in his writing in this cause he would "weigh Scripture, laying apart all authoryte of men." He again excused his delay in answering Starkey's and Cromwell's letters by stating that he had been waiting for further instructions from the latter, which had been sent to him in the charge of the ambassador of Venice, and had been delayed on the road. In all probability, however, the true reason was that in the mean time he had been feeling his way at the Court of Rome. Pole in fact wished, before committing himself to any decided action in favour of either the king's or the Pope's party, to see which side was likely to give him the highest reward for his support. He saw his chance, and he utilized it to the utmost advantage¹ by temporizing with the king while he was making his ground sure at Rome.¹

§ 9. For such a man Starkey was no match in matters of business or diplomacy. Pole's delay in answering his letters he attributed only to a possible unwillingness on the part of the latter to be drawn into

¹ Phillips, in his *History of Reginald Pole*, London, 1767, I. 74, 75, reproduces the story of Henry's having, in 1529, offered Pole the archbishopric of York if he would give his support in favour of the king's divorce, of the rejection of the offer by Pole, and of the subsequent interview between them, with its romantic conclusion—a story which Burnet characterizes as "a romantic adventure, invented by Sanders . . . and mentioned by no contemporary writer."

the matter at all. His mind was therefore considerably relieved on the receipt of Pole's letter with the explanation of the delay, and he at once wrote again, urging the pressing nature of the business, and supporting his view of the subject with additional arguments (MS. Cott., Cleop. E. VI., leaf 356) :—

(1. August, 1535.)

(1) Syr, You haue downe wel that by your letturus of the thryd of Iune you haue somewhat more at large openyd your affectes[on] & wyl to serue the kyng in the cause of you requyryd. Wherin though of your wyl, wych I know euer to be redy to serue the kyng in al poyntys that you may, I dyd no thyng dowte, yet by your long sylence mouyd I coude not but feare lest the cause had lytyl lykyd you, but now I perceyue you haue byn slakker in wrytyng because you mor lokyd fer ferther instructyon by Mastur Secretorys letturus, wych haue byn longur by the way than the ambassadour of venyce at hys departure made to me sure promys they schold ; but now you haue al wych haue byn to you wryten in thys cause, hereaftur I schal not cesse to loke for your answere, trustyng that hyt schal be wyth such iugement & grauyte as ys conuenient to your lernyng & to the expectatyon that men haue here therof. (2) For syth hyt ys so as by your letturus you declare that wyth al dylygence you wyl wey scripture therin, leying aparte al authoryte of man, I dowte not also but that you wyl wyth lyke Jugement in examynyng of the same put asyde al such preiudicis as by custume and tyme in symful myndys be reputyd of grete wayght ; wherof we haue lamentabul expyrience here in our cuntry, by the blyndnes of many wych lately haue suffryd : hauyng no thyng of moment to lay agayn the authoryte of law, but only long custume, and vsage of many yerys, and auncyent opynyonys wherin theyr fatherys haue dyed, they lake the true iugement of poltyke thyngys—wych be of thys nature that of necessyte in processe of tyme & in many yerys euer by lytyl & lytyl grow to iniuste extremyte, non other wyse than the body of man by the course of nature euer in tyme fallyth in dekay & natural debylyte—the wych thyng not wel consyderyd hath causyd dyuerse here of late, not wytout sorow of many honest myndys stubburnely to repugne to the commyn pollycy, whose exampul I am ¹ sure schal wyth you no thyng wey, whome I haue knownen, euer wytout any exteryor & vayn respecte, euer loke wyth a constant & stabyl mynd to truth & honeste : (3) in

Abstract.

(1) Expresses his pleasure at Pole's promise to consider the points as desired, and his professions of anxiety to please the king. (2) Hopes that Pole will enter upon the question with a mind free of all prejudices arising from long custom and use. (3) That the supremacy

¹ Leaf 356, back.

so much that of thys I dow make wyth my selfe almost a sure ground, & of your iugement me semyth am eertayn, that by your dylygent ponderyng both of storys & scripture in thys behalfe, you wyl soone see how that chryslys doctryne determynyth no one kynd of pollycye but in al statys may be stablyschyd & groundyd, so that thys superyorty & vnyte of God, ys not to be requyryd of necessyte, but hangyth only apon mere pollycy, for as much as chrysly sayd, *regnum meum non est de hoc mundo*, & in a nother place as you know, *quis me constituit diuisorem inter vos*, by the refuse wherof, as I take hyt, he wold declare al such thyngys to be left to the gouernance of man and wordly pollycye. (4) The thyngys I thynke schal be somewhat in your mynd conformyd by the redyng of Marsilius, whome I take, thongh he were in style rude, yet to be of a grete iugement, & wel to set out thys mater, both by the authoryte of scripture & gud reysonys groundyd in phyllosophy, and of thys I pray you send me your iugement. (5) Syr, as touchyng Mister Gaspero, whose excellent vertue & lernyng are to me knownen as they be to you, I can not be but glad; how be hyt I thynke he schal more rather gyue & adde honowre to the ordur, then therof to take any ornamant, and yf I had not sure confydence in hys dyuyne nature & as you say angelical, I wold somewhat feare lest by thys dygnyte he schold also conceyue the nature of a cardynal—of whome ther I haue hard many tymys sayd that wyth the hatte wyl remayne never nother honowre nor yet honesty—but he by hys synguler vertue may be perauenture a meane to restore to that ordur some dygnyte: but as touchyng thys parte, that yf he were pope as I conjecture truly he schortly schalbe, he ¹ schold restore in chryslys church the old vnyte, of thys I haue no expectatyon at al, for that vnyte ys now so open & playn that men I thynke schal never in our days deayre hyt to be restoryd agayne astur that sorte as hyt hath byn vseyd. (6) To thys I suppose not only the nature angelical of mastur gaspero ys not suffycyent, but the angellys of henyn yf they schold come to prech that superyorty agayn, of many I thynke they schold scarcely be hard, for so hyt ys iugyd by wyse men to repugne to gud ordur & commyn pollycye, that they seme to lake iugement wych wold by any man haue that to be restoryd agayne. How be hyt of thys now I wyl speake no more, for I dowte not but in weyng thys mater you

Abstract.

of the Pope is a matter not of religion but of policy. Christ himself refused all earthly power, saying, "My kingdom is not of this world;" by which He plainly left worldly matters to be regulated by men. (4) In support of his view he refers Pole to Marsilius. (5) Is glad to hear of Gaspero's being raised to the rank of cardinal, but hopes his nature will not change like that of other cardinals, for "with the hat remains neither honour nor honesty." (6) Not even Gaspero, if made Pope, would be able to restore the Pope's authority in

¹ Leaf 857. •

schal see thys to be true bettur than I can other conceyue or expresse. (7) And, syr, wher as you wryte that when you wryte to the kyng you wyl wythal make awnswere to *mastur* secretorys letturye, me semyth you are ouer slake therin, how be hyt I can not perceyue hys gentylnes to be much offendyd therwyth; he forsyth not much of your awnswere to hym, so that to the kyng you make such awnswere as may be to the honowre of god, & settynge forth of the truthe, wherby you schal both profyt your cuntrey & bryng much conforte to your selfe & to your louarys & frendys; of thys *mastur* secretory semyth to be desyrouse, wherin you see how much you are to hys gudnes bounden, and not only for thys, but also for other hys grete gentylnes, wych dynerse ways he hath schowyd & dayly doth to other of your frendys, wych as I take hyt he gladlyer doth for your sake & for the loue wych he beryth to you, conceyuyd by opynyon of such vertues as be reportyd to be in you, wherof I trust at your retorne you schal schow manyfest exparyance, the wych I pray god ahortly may be to your comfort.

With this letter is a small slip of paper in Starkey's handwriting, which appears from internal evidence to be in all probability his copy of a short letter from Cromwell to Pole enclosed in his own. It runs as under (leaf 357):—

Syr, aftur my most harty recommendatyonis thys schalbe in few & schort wordys to requyre, you accordyng to the callyng that our lord Jesu Chryst, hath callyd & indeuyd you, that ys to say, as wel wyth the gyft of gud *lettures* and vnderstondyng as wyth the most excellent gyft of jugement in the same, ye wyl indeuer your selfe to make awnswere vn-to such thynghys as be contynyd in mastur Sterkey's *lettures* to you wrytyn at thys tyme, by the kyng our masturys & soueraynys expresse commandement, & that the same answer may be such & of such grauyte as the lyght & truthe therof may be to the honowre of god & the satysfactyon of hys hyghnes: wherof I assure you I wold be as glad as any parent or frend ye haue lyuyng, not dowtyng in your approuyd wysedome & jugement but that ye wyl extend the gyftys gyuen vn-to you in such wyse and leuyng al your respectys or affectyon, wole so inserch your consyience & jugement for the truth as ye wole both dyscharge your selfe agaynst god & your prynce, in dowyng wherof you schal assurydly dow the thyngh much to the increse of your meryte & fame. Wherin, as he that ys your assuryd frend to hys lytyl power, I requyre yow to haue indyf-

Abstract.

England as it had been, no, nor yet an angel from heaven. (7) Hopes Pole will not neglect to answer Cromwell's letters, who has in many ways shown his affection towards him by kindness to his friends.

ferent consyderatyon & so to ordur your selfe therin as the expectatyon of your frendys wythe the judgement of al men that knowyth you may be satysfyd in that behalfe, & thus our lord send you no worse to fare then I wold ye dyd at London.

§ 10. From internal evidence it is clear that it was about this time that Starkey wrote the letter to Cromwell which is printed by Mr Collier in his *Nine Historical Letters* alluded to below. In it he apologizes for not having written before on the plea of an attack of ague. He encloses a "lytyl scrole" which he hopes Cromwell will find time to read; refers to the death of "Raynolds of Sion," and afterwards to Pole, of whom he says, "apon the erth lyvyth not a more syncere and pure hart then hath Mastur pole, & lesse spottyd wyth dyssymulacyon, therfor, whatsoever Master Pole thynkyth in thes causys the kyng schortly & playnly schal know."

He expresses the hope that Cromwell will "take occasyon to speke wyth the kyngys hyghnes of so pore a man as [he is] to stablysh in hys grace such opynyon of [him] as [his] hart doth deserve . . . for to hys se[r]vyce [he is] mouyd by love & faythful obseruaunce, & by no wordly benefyte nor wordly avauncemente."

Pole's letters to Starkey had been, it would seem, so skilfully worded that the latter was very confident that the result would be one gratifying to the king, and no doubt he signified as much to his master.

§ 11. But there had been a letter, or rather a treatise, by Pole written, as it would appear from a passage in the following letter from Starkey (see p. xxviii, l. 5, and p. xxx, l. 33), before the king had instructed the latter to write to him asking for his opinion, in which he seems to have discussed the subject more as a matter of policy than of divinity, pointing out the dangers which might possibly arise from the course which had been pursued, but not touching at all on the very points on which the king was most anxious to have his opinion, viz., whether his marriage with Queen Katherine was legal according to divine law, and whether the supremacy which the popes had for so many centuries claimed for themselves was in accordance with the same rule. It was on these points that the king desired his opinion, and not on the probable or possible political results of the course which he had adopted, and he therefore ordered Starkey to write to

Pole to this effect. Starkey accordingly wrote in the following terms (MS. Cott., Cleop. E. VI, leaf 361) :—

(? — 1535.)

(1) Syr. You wrote before in our pryncys cause of your owne mocyon : wherin you schowyd louyngly the daungerys that myght of hys cause folow, but the mater hyt selfe as hyt ys here by the kyng most scharply jugyd you dyd not almost touche. Wherfor now the kyng, as I haue wryt, reqnyryth your lernyd Ingement : & that you schold leue your prudent and wytty pollicey tyl you be requyryd. The poyntes be thes, wych though you ryght wel of your selfe know yet I wyl put them a lytyl aftur my mynd before your yes.

(2) *An matrimonium cum relecta fratri, ab eo cognita, sit iure divino licitum.*

In thys and in the rest also, though the kyngys pleasure be you schold gyue place to no manrys persuasyon nor authoryte, as I am sure you wyl not ; yet for the loue that I bere vn-to you & for the desyre that I haue that you schold se the Iugyd truth, I wyl note certayn placys of weyght aftur myn opynyon in thes thynngys to be consyderyd, euer leuyng your owne jugement fra.

(3) And fyrst for thys poynt consydur how thys law ys rotyd in nature : powdur hyt by thys rule yf hyt semes to you gu[de] : al thyngh wych byndyth man to the obseruatyon therof : al law wryten put asy[de] for the conseruatyon of the cyuyle polityke lyfe vnyuersally conuenyent to the dygnyte of the nature of man : al such I thynke ys rotyd in the law of nature. Apply thy[s] rule wythout affectyon, & wyth a ryght ye examyne hyt in thys case.

And then for the second poynt, *an lyceat dispenseare*, esy I thynke hyt scha[ll] be to fynd the popys powar extyndyth not thereto. And

Abstract.

(1) Has been desired by the king to point out that Pole's answer had not really touched the matter at issue, and to tell him to keep his opinions on the policy of the king's acts till they are asked for. (2) Again states the questions to be answered : viz, (a) Is marriage with a brother's widow lawful? (3) Arguments against it: 1st, the law of nature; 2ndly, the Pope's power of dispensation did not, and ought not to, extend to such a case. Such power was a usurpation on the part of the Popes, and had never been granted to them by any general

¹ Starkey here appears to take as an undisputed fact that the marriage between Arthur and Katharine of Arragon had been consummated. But this is very doubtful. Arthur was married on November 6, 1501, and died in the beginning of the following April, when he was only 14 years of age. From the *Simancas State Papers, Rolls Series*, ed. Bergenroth, it is clear that Henry VII. himself did not consider that the marriage had been consummated, as it appears that, in order not to have to restore Katharine's dowry, he proposed to marry her himself after his son's death.

though hyt were expedient for the wordly pollyey for to haue dispensation, as hyt was perauenture in the kyngys ca[use], yet hyt ys not expedient any one man to haue such powar to breke such Law so rotyd in nature, and apon thys ground hyt apperyth to me fer[ther] tha[t] the pope schold not haue powar not only to dyspense wyth any law so rotyd in nature, but also that he hath not powar (nor conuenient hy[er] ys that he schold haue): ye though he were made hede of the churc[h] powar to dyspense wyth lawys made in general conseyl, catholyke lawys, & vniuersal groundys, ordeynyd for the conseruacion of chrystyan lyfe in al chrystys churche, and though he hathe vsyd the contrary, hyt was, I thynke, a mysvse & vsurpyd by the reeon wherof now hyt ys spyd, now hyt doth fal, now hyt ys plukkyd iustaly away.

Loke also & pondur thys whether euer the hole authoryte of makyng, of abrogatyng, of dyspensyng wyth catholyke lawys & vniuersal groundys of chrystian lynyng, were euer gyuen & translatyd to the pope by any law wryten in general conseyl, wych were necessary to fynd yf we schold attrbyute such authoryte. as to the emperourys we fynd *legem regiam* qua potestas senatus & populi erat in *principem* collata.

(4) ¹The second pryncipal mater :—an superioritas quam multis in seculis romanus pontifex sibi vindicauit sit ex iure diuino. Here you must way the placys of the gospel & scripture, wherin I thynke you schal fynd non manystly prouyng that ; the commyn placys you know how y^e they are vnderstood contrary therby dyuerse & many, as when the dyscypelys of chryste contendyd for superiorite you know what chryst sayd ; you know how poule confessyth [he] knoyth only christ for heed, eyuelle & polytyke hedys he confessyd many, *sed iure diuino nullum*. Ferther loke to the begynnyng of the church when the truth therof was bettur knownen than hyt ys nowe. In the actys of the apostyls you schal fynd no such thyng, and aftur the apostyls days the iij patriarchys of Jerusalem, of Antioch, of Constanti[nople], of rome had among them no superiorite.

(5) Loke ferther how the grekys fele from the church catholyke as we cal now, chefely for bycause the byschope of rome wold be chefe hede ; you know what ys to be gyuen to the iugement of the grekys in the interpretayton of scripture bettur than I dow.

Abstract.

council. (4) The second question : Is the supremacy claimed by the Pope founded on Divine law? He points out that there are no passages of Scripture on which to ground it, and that the bishops of Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Rome were originally equal in authority ; that (5) this assumption by the Bishop of Rome of supremacy had caused the separation of the Greek and Latin Churches.

¹ Leaf 361, back.

XXX POLE TO TREAT THE MATTER AS ONE OF DIVINITY, NOT OF POLICY.

The contentyon betwyx Petur & Poule takyth away such superiortye as ys gyuen to the successorys of Petur.

Pondur why more from the byschope of Antyoche than of Rome such superiorite ys taken a way seyng Petur was byschope of bothe.

(6) Thes certayn poyntys I now wryte to you, *non quia preiudicium aliquod afferret*: the kyngys pleasure ys that you schold, wythout any prejudiciale affectyon taken of any man apoen one parte or other, wyth a sincere mynd & wyth that lyght that god hath gyuen you in scripturye & lernyng gyue your sentence. And as touchyng the pollicy of bothe the materys & of bryngyng them to effecte, wych hys grace hathe now dowen whether hyt be wel dowen or yl he requyryth no judgement of you, as of one that in such thynghys hath no grete experiance as yet. As whether hyt be conueny[ent] that ther schold be one hed in the church & that to be the byschope of rome, set thys asyde, & in hys cause of matrimony, whether the pollicy that he hath vsyd therin be profytabel to hys reame or no, leue that asyde; only schow you whether, yf the fyrist matrimony were to make, whether you wold approue that then or no, and the cause why you wold not, & thus wey the thyngh in 'hyt selfe as hyt ys in hys owne nature & put a parte feare of al daungerys, hope of al gud wych schold succeede & hangyth apon wordly pollicy, and so cleraly wythout affectyon other of kyng or quene breualy gyue your sentence. And thus¹ you schal fyrist honoure god & truth; & second also satysfye the kyng, wych sayd to me thes wordys, that rather he had you were beryd ther then you schold for any wordly promotyon & profyt to your selfe dyssymbul wyth hym in thes grete and weyghty causys.

Thus² you haue my mynd & the kyngys pleasure withal, and yf case be that you reche to the jugyd truth, you nede not to feare, astur my mynd, that men schold lay to you lyghtnes of mynd & chaungyng of sentence, for as fer as I can coniecture you dyd affyrme noathyng in the cause³ as was conuenyent for arrogasye hyt (1) any thyngh affyrme but only that wych by the word of god we haue declaryd to vs, wherfore you dyd³ only put before hys yes the daungerys wych hangyd apon wordly pollicy. Yf I remembry thys you dow, I can not wel tel for I neuer see nor red your boke but onys as you know wel, at the wych tyme hyt semyd to me you wrote so probably that hyt put me in a feare of daungerys to co[me], but I trust

Abstract.

(6) The king desires Pole to set aside all questions as to *policy*, and, without looking to any danger or advantage that might arise, give his opinion, sincerely and impartially, as to one who would rather see him dead than deceitful.

¹ Leaf 362.

² MS. thys.

³ The words between * are inserted both above the line and in the margin; the order of the clause is not quite clear, but this seems to be the best sense that can be made of it.

the gudnes of god & prouydence of our most wyse prynce schal auerte & turne al suche calamyte by mannys conjecture forseyn from thys our cuntry.

Dyrecte your knolege yf you see nede by mastur gaspero, the byschope of chete, wyth other such men of hye lernyng & iugem[ent].

§ 12. These repeated requests and solicitations at last had their desired effect. On the 27th May, 1536, Pole forwarded to the king his book *De Unione Ecclesiastica*, with the following letter:—

“Pleaseit your grace to vnderstonde that wheras, furst by Master Starkeys letters, chapleyn to your grace, and afterward by Master secretory confyrmeng the same, I was aduertysed that it was your grace pleasure I shold by my wryting open to your grace my sentence concernyng the superiorite of the pope in the churche, wyth other artycles belongyng to the same, ad[i]oyneng thervnto such reasons as dyd most induce me to enclyne to that parte I toke; assureng me the same shold be most acceptable to your grace, yf, withoutt affection of ony parte, or respects other but only of the very truthe, I shold playnly sett furth my sentence. I, therfore, gevynge credence to thy enformacion and obeyng to your pleasure, haue, wyth all playnes, comprised in a boke my hole sentence, wych I have sent to your grace by thys bearar. And now how it schall satysfye your grace that I have wryten, I thynke he knoweth only in *cuius manu sunt corda regum*: for thys knolech I wyll not gyve to your grace, nor to no man, how grete so euer he be, in yerch, to know somuch of hys owne mynd afore he here the truthe how he shal be moued withall: but god only hath thys knolech, wych at hys pleasure ys to gyue the lyght of hys spryrite, more or lesse; so he maketh the harte of man more or lesse contentyd wyth the trothe: wherfore to hys goodness now all my prayere shal be, in whom ys all my trust for the knolech of the truthe to be persuadyd to your grace. And as tochynge my purpose in the dyscorse of my boke to the manyfestyng of my sentence, yf it please your grace to have furder enformacion, I have geven instructions therof to thys bearar, to whom it may please your grace to gyve credence.¹ Thus prayng to almyghty god to preserue your grace in highe honore, to the contentation of your most noble hartys desyre, the same agreyng to hys pleasure. Writen at Venyce the xxvijth day of May,

By your faythfull servant,
Raynold Pole.

Indorsed:—“From Pole the xxvijth day of May:” addressed “To the Kynges Grace.”²

¹ These “additional instructions” are in MS. Cott. Cleop. E. vi., leaf 334.

² From the original in the Public Record Office, State Papers, Henry VIII.; “the Pole letters, as transmitted by Mr Collier,” Sept. 1859. (See *Appendix to 21st Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, p. 47.) Privately

In this treatise Pole not only dealt with the arguments adduced in Dr Sampson's book, but also commented freely and sharply on the king's private life and character, so much so indeed as to lay himself open to the charge of base ingratitude.

Before he forwarded the book to England, Pole had shown it to two of his friends in Rome, Contarini and Priuli, who remonstrated with him on the tone which he adopted, pointing out that by treating Henry in such a manner he would not only draw down the king's vengeance on himself, but would also involve his relations in his own danger.

To this Pole replied that their observations were very just, and that he was aware of their truth, but since flattery and temporizing had hitherto been the source of all the evil, the only remaining hope was in exposing the naked truth. "If, however (he says), when you have read through the work you still think, notwithstanding what I have said at the beginning and end, that it wants other correctives, I will submit it to those which you may judge proper, having nothing more at heart than your approbation." And in a further letter to Priuli he declares that he had entered upon the blamable part of the king's character with the utmost reluctance, and that he had been persuaded to do so only by his great desire to promote Henry's welfare, which could never be done unless the king himself were brought to a sense of his faults. "How (he says) can this be done unless they are placed before his eyes? Who will undertake this except myself?"

In his *Apologia* Pole declares that he read over the book before sending it to England, not without some thoughts of suppressing it, but that finding certain leaves which contained the sharpest strictures on the king's character cut out, he suspected that they had been purloined by some of his enemies for the purpose of sending them to Henry and doing him injury, and he therefore determined to forward the book as it was to the king.

He adds that with the book he sent to the king a letter full of printed by Mr J. P. Collier, in 1871, with the title "*Nine Historical Letters of the Reign of Henry VIII.*", written by Reginald Pole, Thomas Cromwell, Michael Throckmorton, and Thomas Starkey. Copied from the originals." There is another copy of Throckmorton's letters in Ms. Cott, Nero, B. vi.

affection and duty, assuring him that what was written was written to him alone, and had been shown to none whose knowledge of the matter could cause any harm or danger; that he himself would suppress the work so long as he saw any hopes of being able to acknowledge in a more pleasing argument how much he was indebted to the king for his education and so many other marks of the royal bounty.¹

At the same time he alludes to the fact that some of his statements had been called in question, and defies any person to point out a single false statement.²

Pole seems, however, to have at least partially regretted the tone of the book, for not all the injuries inflicted on him by Henry could induce him to allow it to be printed, nor was it till after a German bookseller had published an unauthorized and incorrect version from a pirated copy that he in self-defence consented to the publication of a true and authorized edition.

As to the delay in forwarding the book, Pole in his *Apologia* seems to wish it to be understood that he was anxious, if possible, to escape the necessity of sending it at all, but had, as he says, seized the opportunity presented by the death of Ann Boleyn, because then he felt that the king would either wander beyond all hopes of reformation or, if addressed in time, might be induced to return to the laudable paths which he had forsaken.

But such a surprise was this treatise to Henry, who had been led by Starkey to be firmly convinced that its contents would be favourable to his cause, that the natural result was the disgrace of the latter. Starkey himself, it is clear, was astonished beyond measure, and there is not the slightest reason to believe that in raising such hopes in the king's mind he was influenced by any other motive than a sincere belief in their fulfilment.

Starkey, on the receipt of the book, acting as Pole's true friend, desired that it might be committed to the judgment of some learned

¹ See Phillips's *Life of Reginald Pole*, Vol. I. p. 136. This cannot mean the letter printed above, p. xxxi, but may refer to the *Additional instructions* already mentioned, in which he professes the strongest attachment to the king and the greatest desire to please him.

² *Apologia ad Angl. Parliamentum*, I. 179.

men, who should read and impartially report on it. To this the king assented, and Starkey himself was joined with them.

§ 13. But though all the committee seem to have been friends of Pole, yet when they came to read the book, so strong was its language and so full did it appear to be of ingratitude towards the king, his friend and patron, that they could not but be struck with surprise, sorrow, and indignation. Starkey especially was thunderstruck; all his hopes and his confident expectations were so rudely dashed to the ground that he, with the others, could scarcely believe the book to be Pole's own writing. He asked to be allowed to read it over privately alone, and did so carefully and seriously, as he says, with the result that after consideration of the whole matter he came to the conclusion that it was "the most frantyke iugement" that ever he had read of any learned man. He therefore writes as follows to Pole, expostulating and arguing with him (MS. Cott. Cleopatra, E. VI., leaf 365):¹—

(1) Much I haue maruelyd, Master Pole, al thys yere past bothe of your syldon & schort wrytyng to me, consyderyng the contynual dylygence vsyd apon my behalfe euer toward you, and though of late at the fyret cumyng of your seruant² when he brought your boke I jugyd that you perauenture wrote not, bycause you^{*} were so occupyd, in the fyrist settynge out³ of your mater in wrytyng to the kyngys hyghnes, wherin you had byn before tyme somewhat slakke & so had lytyl leysure, yet now at hys second retorne, when you wrote to dyuersse other of your frendys I lokyd to haue had some one word wryten vnto me for that me thought our freashchype requyryd. Wherfore then I bega[n] playnly wyth my selfe to juge your mynde wythout cause alyenate as me thought, and most justely I myght accuse you of vnykynnes, wych vsyd toward me such contynual sylence; for thys I haue euer rekenyd, that dyuersyte of opynyon in such thyngys wych perteyne not of necessarye to manrys saluatyon, schold neuer brek loue & amyte betwyx them wych haue iugement &

Abtract.

(1) Expresses the disappointment which he had felt in not receiving any letters from Pole, the reason for which neglect he had

¹ This letter has been considerably condensed, as it has already been printed by Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, I. pt. ii. No. lxxxl.

² Thockmorton, who was afterwards gained over to the king's side, and used as a spy upon Pole's actions.

³ MS., wold gyue no occasyon of blame crossca out, and the words between^{*} written over.

dyscretyon, no more than doth dulnes or scharpenes in the syght of the ye, wherin one frend to be angry wyth a nother bycause he sethe ferther or not so fer as dothe he, ys veray smal reson, for as the one schold cause no anger so the other schold brede no enuye ; so that although I varyd from you in the jugement of the mater, yet your syience declaryd much ingratytude toward me. (2) And thys count I made before I rede your boke, but aftur such tyme as I dyd rede the same & weyd your jugement therin I was no thynge sory of thys your syience, but rather glad that you so vsyd yourselfe toward me, for hys letturys to rede, who hath so lytyl regard of hys masturys honowre & so lytyl respecte of hys frendys & cuntry as in your wrytyng you playnly declaryd, I haue lytyl pleasure. Wherfor though of late I had determinyd never to wryte you agayne, yet aftur I had rede your boke I was so affectyd, and wyth your ingratytude toward our prynce and cuntry so offendyd, that I could not tempur myselfe nor satysfye my mynde wythout some declarayton therof by wrytyng to you schowyd. And so now eues as you semyd to me illa tua oratione principem et patriam tuo quidem iudicio pereuitem extremis quasi verbis compellare, so schal I te insanientem mea sententia amicum extrema quasi voce salutari, for thys ¹ I purpos schal be the last lettur that euer I schal hereaftur to you wryte donec resipiscas. Wherin I wyl not entur to dyspute the ground of the mater wych requyryth rather a boke then a lettur, but only I schal a lytyl open to you, the grete imprudence & foly, the detestabul vnykynnes & iniury schowyd in your sentenc bothe toward your prynce frendys & cuntry. By the reson wherof except you take hede & consydur the mater in tyme wyth bettur Iugement, wyth that contempt of your cuntry & thys arrogast dyspysyng of al the iugementys therin, you schal vtturly cast away your selfe. (3) Wherfore, Master Pole, I schal pray you by al such loue as I haue euer borne to you, wych I promyse you ys gretur than euer I bare to any natural brother, to here me a lytyl & wey my wordys indyfierently. And fyrist, Master Pole, how I was affectyd wyth the redyng of youre boke I schal a lytyl touche. At such tyme as your boke was dalyueryd to the kyng though you wrote not to me, I, forgetting not the offyce of a frend, requyryd that your boke myght be commytyd to the examynacyon of them wych bothe had lernyng to juge & wold wey the mater indifferently, the wych I

Abstract.

been unable to imagine. (2) But after reading of his book he felt glad that Pole had not written, for there could be no pleasure in the letters of one who showed such base ingratitude towards his prince. This, therefore, is to be his last letter to Pole, which (3) he begs him to weigh seriously. When his book arrived he had asked that it should be referred to a committee of learned men, to whom he was joined. So shocked had he felt when it was read, that it seemed to

¹ Leaf 365, back.

promys you was done, and to them I, as your frend was joynyd also ; in the redyng wherof, though we louyd you al intyery, yet your corrupt iugement in the mater & your detestabul vnkyndnes toward your prynce so offend[yd] vs al, that many tymys our yerys abhorrud the heryng ; and as for me, I promys you at the fyrt redyng I was so amasyd & astonyd wyth the mater that I coud not wel juge, I wyst not with what spryte hyt was wryten wythal, and euer me thought hyt schold be some dreme, or at the lest no oratyon of Master Pole, whome I euer notyd to be the mooste addycte to the honowre of hys prynce & the welth of hys custre that euer yet I knew. (4) Wherfore I obtaynyd your boke to ouer rede myselfe alone, ye astur yet wyth my lord of Durham I rede hyt most dyligestly, obseruynge & notyng the hole ordur & processe therof, & when I had redde hyt astur thys maner I was more astonyd then I was before, for then comparyng the hede to the end & consyderyng the hole cyrcumstance of the mater, playnly to say to you euer as I thynke, therin¹ apperyd to me the most frantyke iugement that euer I rede of any lernyd man in my lyfe ; for herin lyth the summe of your boke : because we are slyppyd from the obeyencye of rome, you juge vs to be separate from the vnyte of the church & to be no mezbrys of the catholyke body, but to be worse then Turkys or Sarasynys. Wherfore you rayle apon our prynce to bryng hym ad penitentiam more vehemently then euer dyd Gregory agayn Julyan apostata, or any other agayn such tyraunys as persecut[ed] Chrystys doctryne. . . .

(5) ²I marveyle that you consyduryd not, how the veray chrystien vnyte stondyth astur sayn Poulys doctryne in the vnyte of fayth, & of spryrt & in a certayn knytyng togyddur of our hartys by loue & charyte : wych may rest in al kynd of pollicy, for dowteles thys superyorite of some sprange fyrt of pollicy, as hyt ys euydent by old story, for Constantyn was he that gaue thereto fyrt authoryte of al such power & superyorite, wych by other was contynuyd & increasyd, and so, as hyt began by manynys wyt & instytutyon, I thynke hyt schal end by lyke reson : for in the expresse wyll & word of god hyt hath no such rote and ground as to you hyt apperyth. . . .
³ And as touchyng the placys of scripture wherby you confyrme the prymacy, you folow the vulgareyre trayn of the latur docturys, wych violently draw them to the settyng vp of the see of Rome, forgettyng the purpos of the ancyent doctorys of our relygyon ; the wych, exalt-

Abtract.

him some horrible dream. (4) He had, therefore, obtained leave to read it over alone, but could only think it the most "frantyke iugement" he had ever read. (5) The supremacy of the Pope, as being an institution of man, could also be put an end to by man's authority ; that the old doctors, in exalting *sedem romanam et cathedram Petri*, meant thereby the faith which Peter taught at Roma, as is testified

¹ MS., thyerin.

² Leaf 366.

³ Leaf 366, back.

ying sedem romanam & cathedram Petri, euer ment therby, fidem quam petrus pre ceteris professus est, et Rome docuit; and for bycause the fayth of Chryst ther toke most notabul increase & from thens was deryuyd to the west parte of the world, therfore thydur was euer in al dowtys chefe recourse, & that see was most praysyd & preferryd aboue other, as a place of conseyl & not of hygher powar & authoryte. Thys testyfith Jerome, Cypryane, wyth al the antyquyte. . . .

¹ Al your scharpe wordys vseyd in thys mater contrary to your *masterye* honowre, declare in you a meruelouse blynd & a corrupt iugement with wonderful ingratitudo toward your prynce & cuntra. Whereof, master Pole, what inward sorow I hane conceyuyd yf I schold here be about to open vnto you, I schold, I thynke, labur in vayne & of you perauesture be lytyl beleuyd. . . .

(6) ² But I trust, Mayster Pole, hereaftur the loue of your owne eustre, and bownden dewty to your souerayn lord & master schal so presuayle in your stomake, that you in tym retractyng your sentece schal to your grete comfort injoy the same quiet. For sorowful I schal be to see you perseyste in any such sentece & foly wherby you schold refoose to come to the prescence of your prynce & perpetually to lake the fruytyon of your natural frendys & cuntry.

(7) And where as of late I here the bysch[op] of Rome hath inuytyd you to consulte wyth hym apow a coaseyl general, I wold aduyse you as one of your most louyng frendys to coasydur the cause wel before you apply, & loke wel to the offyce wych you owe to your prynce, & suffur not your consyencie to be bounde wyth any superstycyouse knot conceyuyd by folysch scrupuloysyte. For yf you juge your selfe more to be bounden to that forayn byschoppe then to your natural souerayn lord, you schal of al wyse men, I thynke, be jugyd to lake a grete parte of witt & more of vertue & honestye: you schal be jugyd playnly to be blyndyd wyth some grete affectyon & to be an vntrue subyete vn-to your mastur and an open enemy to *your* country, whome you say you loue so intyerly. Conaydur therfore thys mater wyth your selfe ³arnystly, for ther hangyth more therapon then I feare me you wel conceyue: for thys one thyng I schal say to you, wych I pray fasten in *your* brest, that yf you folow the breves of the pope to you directid & besy your self to set forth the sentece wych you haue wryten to the kyng, blowyng vp that authoryte wyth such

Abstract.

by Jerome, Cyprian, and others. (6) But he trusts that Pole's love for his country will induce him to retract his opinion, and (7) warns Pole that his ingratitudo to Henry will, if persisted in, be ascribed to some sinister motive, and that if he makes public the book which he has written to the king he will be judged to be as great a traitor and as false to his country as ever any one has been.

¹ Leaf 368, back.

² Leaf 369.

³ Leaf 369, back.

arrogancy, you schalbe notyd in the chrysyan commynwels to be as sedycyouse a person & mynystur, as grete a breche to chrysyan vnyte, as euer hathe doone ¹ any other in our days ¹ wyth ² rashnes & temertye: For as sedycyouse ys he wych al old custumys & usagys of the church defendyth ouer obstinately as he that wythout dyscretyon subvertyth al rashely.

(8) *Nec tibi, Pole, ita imponas ut cum tuearis hanc pontificis autoritatem negocium christi te agere putas: ego certe vereor ne dum hec agas christum plane deserbas. Quid enim aliud est christum deserere quam optimo principi qui in bonis artibus te liberaliter educavit in honestissimis mandatis non obtemperare! Quam dulcissime patrie que te aluit operam tuam denegare: parentibus et clarissimis amicis humani hominis officia non prestare!* At dices, et princeps et patria christum deseruere. O Pole, quam insanis, si propter unum pontificem desertum nos christum deseruisse arbitrare. Ego profecto spero fore vt post hanc a pontifice defectionem, arctius christo hercana. Lapsus es, Pole, ab officio humani hominis, qui ob tam leuem causam patriam et parentes et optimum principem deseris; sed ignorancia plane lapsus es, cui ego omnes omnium errores iuxta Platonem tribuere soleo.³

§ 14. In spite, however, of all Starkey's exertions, so great was the king's disappointment, and so strong his resentment against Pole, that, as I have said, Starkey soon found that he had lost his position in the king's favour. He seems further to have given cause for a certain

Abstract.

(8) In upholding the supremacy of the Pope he is not upholding the cause of Christ; rather, in deserting his country and his king, he opposes that cause. Such forgetfulness of the natural duty of man he can only ascribe to ignorance, the source of all errors.

^{1—1} *Written over Martyn Luther, erased.*

² *bys after wyth erased.*

³ Of this letter there are two copies amongst the State Papers in the Record Office: one corresponding exactly with the above, the other evidently a first draft, at the end of which Starkey has written the following note:—

“Colleus presens cum polo cum scripsit librum confessus est mihi coram morisono se audiuisse sepius ab eo, quod eo tempore cum primum scribere cepit iussus a rege, autoritatem pontificis pro constitutione humana & pro dñsgrā habitu, ceterum vbi ad scribendum appulit animus aliud didicit, edictus divino spiritu a quo precibus & genibus flexis optinuit certe veritatis cognitionem quae unam tuerat & scriptis defendit.

1587 January 12.

Scriptit librum suum suspicatus gallum quendam suffuratum vnam ex suis quaternionibus, quae tamen postea reperit, iraque motus erat tumulti nostri ex morte regine vt quidam putarunt.”

This, it will be seen, agrees with the account given by Pole himself; see p. xxxii, above.

amount of suspicion, because when preaching against the Pope he had, in the opinion of the court, used too great mildness, and had not spoken against the papal claim of supremacy with sufficient sharpness. For this he appears to have been strongly taken to task, a circumstance which caused him great disquiet and alarm, as we see by the following letter:¹—

(? July 1536.)

My Lord, your wordys haue goone through my hart, the wych more greuously stroke me cumyng from you, in whose gudnes I was as much persuadyd to trust as I was in any manrys in erthe; wherfore such wordys as cam from you haue more tormentyd my hart, then schold haue doone so many swordys, and yf I were not comforthyd wyth thys, that I thynke surely that the scharpanes of them sprange of a certayn loue borne toward me before tyme (the wych schalbe restoryd, the truthe knownen) I wold haue ingyd them intollerabul, specyally consyderyng my innocency in such thyngys wyche you touchyd so scharpely. To the wych I wyl say but thys one word:— proue that I haue dyssemblyd but in one word wyth you or wyth the kyng, & wythout iugement stryke of my heed. And as concernyng my prechynge I beseche you let me not be oppresyd with any wronge informatyon, but here what other men wyl say wych were also ther present, and then accordynly I beseche you let the mater be consyderyd; for yf I haue not bothe wryten & spoken such thyngys wych wel ponderyd schold bothe set forthe the truthe, & also rather quyat then increase sedycyon, let me suffur deth wythout ferther delay. And as touchyng the corrupt iugement of the sorowful man, I beseche you impute not to me any parte of hys foly, wych hathe alredy more greuyd me, then euer yet hathe doone the dede of any man lyuyng apon erthe. And where as you thynke I study a mean doctryne for myn owne glory, I know not yet, my lord, what you mean, for I haue studyd to exhort & moue men from suche extremyte, wherby they are styrred to fife theyr obeydence to the kyngys lawys, & to such other thyngys as by the consent of our cuntry are set forthe to the opennyng of goddys truthe & hys ralygyon. I forge no mean but that wych I fynd wryten in goddys worde, and approuyd by the iugement of our clergy. Trothe hyt ys that I can not frame my iugement to plesse al men, beyng in such varyety of sentence & controuersye, for some perauenture yet thynke truthe to be treyson, & some perauenture that hyt ys heresye, betwyx whome I stond, & wyl so long as I schal stond in thys lyfe, from thys truthe you schal fynd me my lord to be no sterter, wauerar, nor hengar in the wynd, for thys ys goddys truthe, lying

¹ *State Papers in the Public Record Office, Henry VIII., 1535-7.* This letter bearing no address, it is difficult to say whether it was written to Cromwell, who was now Lord Privy Seal, or to Oranmer, but probably it was to the former.

XI. STARKEY'S LETTER TO CROMWELL RELATIVE TO POLE'S BOOK.

betwyx thes sedycyouse extremytes. But hereof I wyl now speke no more, only thys, besechynge you to be myn indyfferent gud lord, & let not my truthe and innocency be other wyse taken then hyt deseruyth.

This letter, which bears evident signs of having been written in great haste, and in a state of agitation, appears to have produced some effect; for, as we gather from the following letter, both Cromwell and Cranmer seem to have tried to console him, and assure him that he had not forfeited the king's favour. Starkey, however, thought it advisable to enter into a fuller defence of his own conduct, and again writes to Cromwell: ¹—

(24 July, 1536.)

(1) My lord, though as wel by the relatyon of my lord of Casterbury as also by the few wordys wych you speake to me the last day at Stepney I am restoryd to a greate parte of the quyetnes of my mynd, for as much as therby I am persuadyd fully that you toke my purpos & intent even as hyt was, & that you be my gud lord astur your wont & custumyd maner, yet throughly quyetyd I nother am, nother yet can be, vntyl I may be assuryd that the kyng, my souerayn lord & mastur, ys by no wrong informatyon, nor contrary suspycyon, otherwyse persuadyd of me then my hart, wyl, & dedys deserue; for albehyt that the testymony of myn owne consciencie be in dede suffycyent to conturvayle agayn al owtward displeure, yet to my wekenes & infyrmite hyt ys no smal grefe to be in dowte that my lord & mastur otherwyse schold Iuge me then my hart deseruyth; the wych also ys much more grefe to me, bycause that I am wel assuryd, bothe by the kyngys owne wordys, & also by hys deedys, that he was gud lord to me & gracyouse. (2) Wherfore, syns ther ys of my parte no occasyon gyuen to the contrary, but rather cause why hys gudnes schold be increasyd toward me & benevolence, for as much as I haue trausaylyd to put in effect such thyngys as were of hys grace wel approuyd & alowyd, the wych before tyme I by wrytyng only touchyd; that ys to say to indeuer my selfe to the inducyng of hys pepul to theyr offyce & dewty concernyng the obedyence of hys lawys, & the conceyuyng of such thyngys as were set forthe for the mayn-

Abstract.

(1) Although his mind had been considerably quieted by the words of Cromwell and Cranmer, yet he cannot feel perfectly easy until he has been satisfied that the king's feelings towards him have not changed; especially since (2) he had given no reason for any such change, but had always laboured earnestly in the king's service.

¹ MS. Cleopatra, E. VI., leaf 870.

tenance of goddys truthe, al the wych consyderyd I can not but sorow & playnly confesse my wekenes & Imbecillyte viturly to be vnabul to bere & susteyne of my souerayn lord any contrary suspycyon. (3) Wherfore, my lord, I schal besech you, as you be my specyal gud lord, so to declare hyt now at thys tyme, & not to suffur my purpos & desyre, wych I haue long nuryeschyd in my hart to serue my master wthal now to be hyndred & downynd wyth any wrong Informatyon, nor to be blottyd wyth an other manrys acte, wherof I neuer mynstryd occasyon, for of your lordeschyppe I take wytnes that I neuer studyd nor laburyd thyng more ernystely then I dyd to bryng that man, for whose faute I now perceyue I am blamyd, to hys offyce & dewtye, & to plukke from hym al sturdy obstynacy. And where as perauenture hyt may be thought that I was the occasyon of the demandyng of hys sentence, you know, my lord, hyt was an occasyon taken, & not apon my behalfe gyuen, for I neuer mouyd the kyng nor yet you to the inserchyng of hys judgement at any tyme; trothe thys ys, that I neuer thought hym to be of so corrupt a judgement & sentence in thys mater of the primacy, & therof I put you in hope & expectatyon, & so I dyd the kyng also, aftur he had commandyd me to wryte vn-to hym hys pleasure & request, of the wych hope that I am so deceyuyd, he lyuythe not wych ys more sorowful then am I, not hys owne mother wych bare hym, & now repentyth of hys ¹ bryngyng forthe to lyght, nor yet hys most dere brother, who by hys acte ys depryuyd of a grete comfort of hys lyfe; therfore, my lord, to blame me for hys deede can not be wythout grete Iniury. (4) And as touchyng my owne jugement of thys prymacy, thys I may say truly, that yf ther be any man wythin thys reame, wych ought to want suspycyon of thys mater, but sincerely dothe approue hyt without dyssimulatyon, I thynke I may be of that nombr: for of thys, my lord, I schal assure you (& you schal neuer fynd me faynyd man) that before thys mater was mouyd here in our cuntry, I much & oft desyryd hyt to be reformyd, consyderyng the damnabul abuays annexyd thereto, in so much that I was then notyd & blamyd of many men wych otherwyse iugyd, and thys I onys declaryd vn-to the kyng, before whome I neuer yet dyssymyllyd, nor neuer schal duryng thys lyfe. And though perauenture some such wych know the famillyaryte betwyx Master Pole & me, (whose amytie & frenschyppe I dyd not a lytyl estyme,² so long as he forsoke not the iugement of hys cuntry, the seruice of hys souerayn lord, & loue to hys natural frendys,) haue inducyd you to an iniuryouse suspycyon,

Abstract.

(3) Hopes that he may not have to suffer for Pole's offence, as the application for Pole's opinion was not made at his suggestion. (4) It is unfair to accuse him, of all men, of opposing the king's supremacy,

¹ Leaf 370, back.

² M.S. extyme.

yet, my lord, he lyuythe not & lokyth¹ upon the lyght that euer schal
iustifyfe in me toward my lord & mastur any poynt of dyssemulatyon.
Wherfore, my lord, yf I schold other wyse be taken, hyt were no smal
grefe to me stondyng in thys truthe & synceryte. (5) And as concernyng
my prechynge one word I am yet constrainyd to speke to you agayne, &
I am constrainyd by the desyre that I haue to the setting forthe of
the truthe, not mouyd by any vayn glory, the word ys thys—that
yf myn intent & purpos in my prechynge had byn wel taken, & indif-
ferentely consyderyd, I schold rather haue byn judgyd worthy of
thankys, wych I sought not, then of reproche, wych I deseruyd not.
For, my lord, you know hyt is not the ryght way of prechynge to bryng
men therby vn-to the lyght wythe grete reprofys to condemne theyr
blyndnes sodaynly, but that ys the way rather to exasperate meynys
hartys & so to confirme them in theyr fol[ly] more stedfastly. Wher-
fore, my lord, I haue wysched many tymys lately, & for the loue
that I bere to the truthe, & to the quyntenes of [the] cite, wherin I
haue chosen my dwellyng-place, I doo yet wysch dayly such precharys
to be electyd, chosen & pykyd out, wych wythout contentyon & studye
of glory schold set forthe the truthe syncerely, & aftur the conseyl of
sain Poule in thyngys indyfferent schold haue consyderatyon of the
wekenes of men & infyrmite, wherby they schold promote & avaunce
the truthe with charyte, & not exasperat[e] & styr one parte to the
late of the other by lyght suspycyon & folysch contentyon mouyd
apon such thyngys wych be indyfferent, & no thyng necessary to
manys saluatyon. Such prechynge, my lord, as me semyth, were
much to be desyryd, & now in thys tyme most specyally, wherin the
kyng & you wyt hys other conseylarys studye the setting forthe of
such temperyd doctrine, wherof, as I am persuadyd al our cuentre
ought not a lytyl to reyoyce. (6) For the doctrine of our cuentre ys now

Abstract.

since he had always most strongly laboured for it. (5) As to his
preaching, he ought rather to have been commanded than blamed for
the course he had followed, and if other preachers would follow his
example they would more advance the cause of truth and charity.
(6) He has devoted himself to preaching solely with a view to
helping forward the new doctrine, of the truth of which he is so

¹ Compare *P. Plowman*, B. viii. 58 :—

“ If I may *lyne* and *leke* I shal go lerne bettere.”

The phrase is one which Langland frequently uses ; see also C. xxi. 29 ; xxii.
159 and 175 ; and, as has been pointed out by Warton and Prof. Skeat, is
“one of those primitive figures which are common to the poetry of every
country ;” the former quoting the following parallel expression from Homer,
Iliad, I. 28 :—

Ὀδρίσ, ἵππον ζῶντες καὶ ἵπποι χθονίοι δερκομένοι,
Σει κόλπος περὶ νησοῦ βαρίσας χερας ἵππου.

so tempryd in truthe, that hyt ys bothe purgyd ¹ from the old abusys & folysche superstycyon & also defendyd from the errorys of thys tyme & from al false religyon, the wych thynghath causyd me now so to apply myself to prechyngh, & I wytnes god no gloryouse desyre of fame and vanyte; for yf I were persuadyd that thys doctryne, approuyd in our countre, were erroneouse, I wold yet rather lose my lyfe schortly, then be one of thos wych schold set forth the same openly. Nor thynke you not, my lord, that I am so bleryd wyth the schadowys of thys lyfe, that I preferre the lyfe among them aboue the lyght of the truthe, nother yet that I am *neque frigidus neque calidus sed tepidus* ² in the settyngh forthe therof, as perauenture by some informatyon you may conceyue, for hyt ys my dayly prayer to hym that ys the fountayn of lyght that I may by hys benefytes bothe see the truthe & also constantly to stond in the defencse of the same, wherin I trust he dothe & wyl maynteyne & strength me contynually, & gyns me hys grace not to stond therin coldly. And though, my lord, you juge me more to be traynyd in phylosophye than in the trade of scripture & in the wrytarys therapon, wherin perauenture your lordschyppe jugyld not much a myn, yet thys I schal to you, my lord, say, & I schal say hyt without al arrogancy, that of the contynual redyng of scripture hyt selfe, wherin certayn yerys I haue accustumyd myselfe, I haue gedderyd a certayn jugement, wherwyth I long haue examynyd such wrytarys as I haue rede therapon, from the wych I purpos not to slyppre duryng thys lyfe, & in case I fele the wrytarys of thys tyme to swarne from the same, I haue them suspectyd, for in the old authorys I fynd thereto a grete conformyte. (7) The summe of my jugement tendyth to thes ij poyntys, fyrst to a contempt of thys lyfe & of the vayn plesurus therof, & to a sure trust & confydence of an other, lokyng vp alway to thos thyngys wych are not seen wyth a clere ye not dasyllyd wyth the glyteryng of such thyngys as are present & subyecte to our syght: the other ys, to a certayne vnyte & concord, ye & to a certayn bande & knott of charyte, wherby men must knytt them selfys togyddur as membrys of one body, & walke in an obeydence to the ordur of the world, despysyng al thyngys wych other men so much contende & stryfe for, & beryng al troublus wyth patyence & humlylyte. To thes ij poyntys tendyth my jugemente geddryd of scripture, the wych though they may perauenture appere vulgare & commun & to be but of smal moment & weyght, yet by them I doo examyn al the wrytyngys, saynges, & doyngys of thys tyme, the wych not sauoryng herof I doo vtterly condonne, & wyl doo whyle I lyue; for I abhorre al such sedycyouse actes & doctryne,

Abstract.

firmly convinced. (7) From his earnest study of Scripture he has conceived a contempt for the things of this world, and a sure trust

¹ Leaf 371.

² MS. *tepidus*.

wych, vnder the pretense & colowre of the truthe, mouythe apow
tryfullys such controuersye, wherby ys broken the ordur of chrysyan
charyte. Wherfore, my lord, I doo not a lytyl reyoyce to see how
among¹ vs in our cuntry by the commyn consent of our clergye may-
teynyd & confyrmyd al true ecclesyastycal pollicy, & no notabul nor
necessary ordur broken nor infryngyd by the plukkyng away of thys
primacy as many men gretly fearyd. In so much, my lord, that yf I
may in thys rest of my lyfe be in any parte a mynystyr to set forthe
thys ordur approuyd by the jugement of my cuntry, wyth concord &
vnyte, I schal thynke myselfe not to be borne vtturly in wayne.
(8) Wherfore, my lord, I besech you, as you iuge me to be one of
thos wych intende to serue my mastur & cuntry faythfully, so to helpe
that my hart wyl & mynd may be taken of my souerayn lord, as hyt
ys sincerely, wherby I may be the bettur incurragyd to doo that
thyng wych perteynyth to myn offyce & dewty, to the wych I schal
indeuer myselfe most dylygently, strengthyd, as I trust, by hym
who gouernyth al, to whose gouernance I schal now commytt your
lordschyppe, besechynge you to pardon me of thys importunyte, to the
wych I am by sorow constrainyd.

Wrytyn at London, the 24 of Iuly.

Your lordschypyps
Thomas Starkey.

To the most honorabul &
my synguler gud lord
my lord pruyu seal.

Henry's chief fear was lest Pole should publish his book, and he
therefore deemed it expedient to conceal his indignation for a time
at least. By his orders a message was sent to Pole desiring him to
return to England, in order that certain passages in his book which
appeared obscure might be explained. Pole, however, declined to
trust himself in the lion's den, writing as follows to the king:—

"Your grace thatt callyth me hath putt such an impedyments in
my waye thatt letthyth me. I can nott passe to your grace except
temerariously I wold caste away my-selfe. This surelye & truelye
afroe god and man I may saye that beyng yn thatt case I myght go
or ronne, your grace callyng me vnto yowe, there ys no lett yn thys
world were able to retayne me from comyng to your grace but onely
thatt procedyth off your selfe."²

Abstract.

and confidence in things above. (8) He therefore hopes that he may
be allowed to do the duty of his office, and thus to help forward the
cause which has been approved by the country.

¹ Leaf 371, back.

² MS. Cott., Cleop., E. VI., leaf 328.

Pole had asked that Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, whom he speaks of as a "sad and learned man," might be allowed to read and report on his book, declaring that it was not so bad as had been represented. To this the king assented, but the bishop, after a perusal of the treatise, could only corroborate the opinions already formed of it, and wrote to that effect to Pole (MS. Cleop., E. VI., leaf 375). 1536

On the 26th July, 1536, the day before Pole received this letter from the bishop, the Pope sent a message to him inviting him to Rome. Pole, who had now committed himself to the papal party, after some little hesitation accepted the invitation, and sent notice to Henry of his intention of doing so. Starkey, as we have seen (p. xxxvii), remonstrated strongly and in no measured terms against such a proceeding, and so did Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, Pole's own friend, while Cromwell stormed and threatened.

§ 15. In spite, however, of the remonstrances of Starkey and Tunstall, and the threats of Cromwell, Pole repaired to Rome,¹ and on the 22nd December was created cardinal by Paul III. Previous to his elevation to that dignity becoming officially known in England, Starkey wrote as follows to him, in answer to a letter in which he seems to have complained of the manner in which Starkey had remonstrated with him against accepting the invitation to the Vatican:—

(26 January, 1537.)

(1) Sory I am, Maystur Pole, that bothe my sentence & scharpenes of wrytyng vsyd to you, heryng of your journey toward Rome, offendyd your stomake so much & toke so lytyl effect, for alþeyht

Abstract.

(1) Expresses his regret that his plain speaking in a former letter should have given offence, which he assures him sprang only from a sincere love towards him and his family, and a fear lest he should

¹ Strype says he was accompanied by Lupeet, but according to Tanner the latter died on December 27th, 1532, at the age of 36, and was buried in the church of St Alphege, Cripplegate. He had been appointed to the living of St Martin's, Ludgate, in 1530, and the last mention of him which I find in the *State Papers* is on 1st August, 1530, on which day he was presented by Wolsey to the Rectory of Cheriton, Hants. Starkey himself, in his Dedication of the *Dialogue* to Henry VIII., printed below, tells us he was dead then.

² MS. Cleopatra, E. VI., leaf 363.

that you perauenture iugyng me herein otherwyse then my nature requyryth, so knownen vn-to you by long conuersatyon, thynke playnly that I am corrupt wyth affectyon & wrote contrary to myn owne conscience, blyndyd wyth ambycyon, yet thys I schal say vn-to you, & cal hym to wytnes who ys pruyu bothe of your thought & myn, that as the sentence where in I stond spryngyth of the only zele of the truthe, & of the desyre of the settynge forthe of goddys honowre & glory, so the scharpenes of my wrytyng vsyd toward you cam of the sincere loue wych I bare to you & to your famly, for I am nother so grosse & base of iugement as to preferre any wordly vanyte, aboue that thyng wych apperyth to me truth & veryte, nother yet so vnkynd as to vse such scharpenes to my frend wythout resonabul ground; for at such tyme as apon the declaryng of your sentence to the kyng you tendyd to Rome, I then, conceyuyng as wel apon the one parte the Increase of the scysame styrryd in chryssty church wych myght innew therby, yf you schold ther open your iugement in your wrytyng comprysyd abrode to the world, as apon the other parte the dysplesure of your prynce wych myght succede the same both toward you & other of your famly, thought hyt expedyent to vse such scharpenes, & that so to doo hyt perteynyd to my bounden dewtye, to the wych you may impute hyt, yf hyt so please you. (2) But now, scharpenes set asyde, I schal say vn-to you, *Mayestur Pole*, thes ij wordys frendly ¹ mouyd by such thyngys wych I lately herd from you: though here be greate rumorys spredde abrode that you be namyd to be a cardynal, & entryd in to that ordur, by the wych the doctrine of chryssty thes many yerys hathe byn lytyl promotyd, yet persuasyd I am fully, that the loue of your custre so stykkythe in your brest, & the desyre of seruyng your prynce so prykkyth your hart, that you wyl never accept that dygnyte before you consydur wel the state of Chrysstys church now in thys tyme, weyng wel the pleasure of your mastere & bounden dewty to hys gracyouse gudnes & liberalyte. For to me hyt apperythe that wythout such consyderatyon you take not the streyght pathe to that thyng to the wych aboue al other I am sure you dyrecte your laburya & studys, that ys to helpe to plukke out thys scysame of

Abstract.

make matters worse by publishing his book. (2) It had been rumoured that Pole was named to be a cardinal, but he is fully persuaded that Pole's love for his country and his king is too strong to allow him to accept that dignity at the present time, for by so doing he would only widen the breach already existing. He therefore hopes that Pole will consider the matter earnestly before he accepts that dignity, and that the division in the Church may soon be healed.

¹ Leaf 358, back.

Chrystys church & to restore agayne chrystyan vnyte, but rather hyt semyth the veray hygh way to augment thys dyuysyon, for as much as by such wytts & eloquence the rootys therof may be much confyrmyd. Wherfore, *Maystur Pole*, yf you stey yourselfe in thys mater, I thynke you schal hereaftur no thyng repent therof, for though materys of our countr[ey] haue byn here lately in greate motyon, the wych you perauezture wyl impute to thys defectyon from Rome, iugyng vs therby to be slyppyd from goddys ordur & instytutyon, yet by the hygh prouydence of hym who gouernyth al, & by the greate wyseedome & gudnes of our pynce I trust you schal yet here such way to be founde & taken herein, that enen the same thyng, wych you percas thynke hathe ¹ byn the chefe roote of thys motyon, schalbe so tempryd & ordryd wyth equyte that not only the syncaryte of Chrystys doctryne schal come to more clare lyght therby, but also the ordur of Chrystys church schalbe restoryd agayn wyth vnyte, accordyng to the fyrist instytutyon, wherof that my hope ys not vayn I trust you schal here more schortly. And glad I wold be to see you a mynystar to god & to your pynce in such purpos, the wych I feare you schal never be yf you onys entur in to that ordur at Rome & take apon you that dognyta. Wherfore, *Maystur Pole*, my trust ys that you wyl consydur thys mater wyth your selfe ernestly ; and yet greate hope I haue that honest iugementys schal onys mete togyddur in such a mean wheby thys odyouse scysamē wych now reynyth in Chrystys church schalbe extynct vtturly, for the wych I schal not cease to pray vn-to hym who ys the only author of al godly vnyte, to whose gouernance I schal now commytt vs al.

Wryten at London the 26 of Januari.

Yourys yet I trust after the
old maner, *Ts. Starkey.*

§ 16. It would appear to be about this time that Starkey wrote the following letter to Henry VIII., in which he expresses his fear lest the "corrupt sentence of *Maystur Pole*" should turn to his disgrace and injury. He pleads his own case most earnestly (pp. xlix, 1), declaring his sorrow and disappointment at the unforeseen result and the ingratitude of Pole towards one by whom he had been most liberally and nobly brought up, and defends himself against the accusations or suspicions to which I have already referred. He then (p. li) enters into a general consideration of the king's policy, expressing his pleasure (p. liii) at the suppression of the monasteries, and his earnest hope that Henry would apply the great revenues which would now fall into his hands for the promotion of learning,

¹ Leaf 364.

and not hand them over to a few rich nobles. He draws a sad picture of the state of England at the time (p. lvii), "the rare and smal nombr of cytes & townys, & of the commyn dekay & ruyne of the same," and the "grete lake & penury of pepul and inhabitantys in the cytes & townys & hole countrey, the wych lake," he thinks, "may in some part be redressyd & helpyn by thys acte of suppreſſyon. For where as before tyme in these monasterys was nuryechyd a multytude of men lyuyng vnmarryd, & dowteles many in vncleane lyfe, to the grete dishonowre of god & let of natural propagatyon," now by the suppression of the monasteries, and the consequent scattering abroad of so many marriageable men, he believes that "the nombr of the pepul schalbe hereaftur much increasyd to goddy's honoure & glory." He then refers (p. lviii) to a common report that it was the king's intention to lease the suppressed houses to great lords and rich landed gentry, which he trusts will not be the case, and points out the greater advantages which would arise from leasing the houses and lands to poorer persons (p. lix). Finally (p. lxi), he again expresses his hope that the king will apply the revenues of the suppressed monasteries to the advancement of learning. The letter will be found one deserving of the greatest attention, and will well repay the reader, not only by the interesting though sad picture of the state of England at the time, but still more by the statesmanlike views so clearly and freely declared as to the advantages which would arise from a right use of the enormous revenues of the suppressed monasteries, and of the certain evils which would follow their misuse. How correctly Starkey foresaw the impending danger is only too well proved by such books as Crowley's *Epigrams*, the *Four Supplicacons*,¹ and the extract from Bacon printed at the end of this part, p. lxxvi.

To the kyngys hyghnes.²

Thought hyt become non of your subyectys, most Nobul prynce, to meddyl in your weyghty causys, concerning your honowre & state of your reame, except thay be by your grace namely callyd & deputyd therto, yet forasmuch as hyt pleysyd your hyghnes, schortly aftur I

¹ E. E. T. Soc., ed. Cowper, 1871 and 1872.

² *State Papers, Henry VII.*, 1506-7. In the Public Record Office. Paged 457 to 504.

was admyttid to your gracys seruyce, to commytt vn to me the wrytyng of your cummandement & request to mastur Raynold Pole in the most weyghty cause, wych of many yerys hath byn temptyd in thys your Reame, and consyderyng also that your pleysure was I schold be made pruy of hys iugement therin by hys wrytyng declaryd, I schal now vse thys boldnes in thys mater to open & declare vn to your hyghnes myn inward affect concerningyng the same, and what hope I haue fully conceyuyd to see al your actys succedyng therto to be conuertyd & turnyd to the hygh honowre of god, to the grete comfort of your subyectys, & to the vnyuersal & commyn welthe of your Reame, ye and to maynystur occasyon & to gyue lyght to al other chrystian pryncys to see & folow the tenore of the same. But here in the begynnyng I can not but gasteley sorow & greouesly lament the corrupt sentence herin of maynystur Pole in hys wrytyng declaryd, by whome I trustyd surely to haue seen such a lernyd iugement schowyd to the world, that bothe your grace schold haue taken pleysure therof, hys freudys comfort, & al hys cuntrey profyt of the same. for the wyche cause I testyfye god, at such tyme as your hignes gaue me in cummandement to wryte your pleysure to hym therin, I most hyghly reyoyedyd, trustyng therby that he wold haue taken occasyon, so happily, as me thought maynystryd to hym, to ¹serue your grace & hys cuntrey, accordyng to hys faythful & bounden dewty. Wherfore what inward sorow I haue conceyuyd in my hart thes days past in redyng of hys boka, perceyning therby hys corrupt ingement, I can by no wordys to your grace fully expresse, for sorowful I was to see so nougthy a cause wyth such scharpenes sett forthe & wyth such eloquence ; sorowful I was to see your grace, hys souerayne lord, so to be dyceyuyd in hym, of whome you haue so much deserwyd, and whome of your gudnes as hyt apperyd to me you euer much desyryd to haue inducyd to see the truthe in your weyghty causys : sorowful I was to see al other hys louarys & freudys therby to be depryuyd of al such comfort & expectatiyon as they of long tyme haue coosynyd of hym, and most of al sorowful I was to see thys our cuntrey b[e]reft of such a wytt, to the wych I euer trustyd he wold haue growen to haue byn a grete ornament, & that as he hathe byn by your gudnes & lyberalyte most nobually brought vp, so he schold at the last haue declaryd some nobul seruyce, as wel to the comfort of your grace as to the profyt of hys cuntrey ; and somewhat also sorowful I was for myn owne pryuete & proper cause, consyderyng the late wych I fearyd wold succede, wyth the perpetual losse of the conuersatyon of so faythful a frend, wyth whome I haue byn so many yerys brought vp in cumpany & contynual stady, not wythout gret hope, that as we had spent togyddar our youthe in study of letturys, so the rest of our lyfys we schold haue consumyd lyke maner in the seruyce of your grace & of our cuntrey : for though we svaruyd many tymys in our

¹ Page 458.

jugementes, inserchyng the truthe in phylosopny, yet I never thought we schold so haue varyd in such grete materys perteynyng to ralygyon and ¹ to commyn pollycy. I never thought hym to be of so base a judgement as he hathe by hys wrytyng manyfestely schowyd, and though in smal materys many tymys he apperyd to me to erre, and corruptely to iuge, yet bycause I perceyuyd ever in hym such a constant loue & stabyl opynyon of that wych apperyd to hym to sowne to vertue & honestye, euer me thought hys errorys were tollerabul, spryngyng rather of weke iugement then of any obetynacye: but now sythen that he hathe sett forthe so corrupt a sentence as hyt apperyth to me in your most weyghty cause, & schowyd so skaunderouse a iugement of your gracys actys, though as he takythe god to wytnesse, hyt spryngyth of loue toward your gracys honowre, that he hathe wryten so scharpely, yet thys I wyl say & playnly affyrme, that yf he wold set out the same to the face of the world, as he hathe in hys boke describyd wyth hys penne, I wold take hym to be an extreme ennymye bothe to your grace, to your state, & to our hole cuntrey: for what scharpenes of wordys, what vycience of sentence, what daunngerys in pollycy, what peryl of damnatyon, he declaryth in hys boke, and propownyth to honge certaynly ouer our hedys, hyt ys horrubul to rede, & incredybyl how he schold conceyue, and wondur hyt ys to me, wych so intyerly haue knownen hym before-tyme, how & by what mean, he ys run in to thys extreme opynyon: but surely as I now perceyue, he hath declaryd hymselfe herin to be ouercome ² wythe grets affectyon, for playnly he schowythe, that the dethe of them wych suffryd in the cause hathe so stonge hys hart & oppresyd hym wyth sorow, that he semyth to forget vturly hys dewty to hys cuntrey & to your grace, without al humanity, he semyth to lake powar to wey the nature of the thyng indyfferently. Wherfore what sorow I haue lately conceyuyd of thys hys ingleton I wyl no ferther be about to expresse, but comfort myselfe with the truth of the contrary opynyon, and where as he by false report, beyng fer out of hys cuntrey, heryng the forme of your actys & fasscyon of pollycy corruptely iugyth wyth desperatyon al thyng to run wyth vs to ruyne & destructyon, I presently seying the state of our cuntrey, & the nature of your actys indyfferently ponderyng, wyl turne to my purpos, breuely to touche the hope wych I haue conceyuyd of the maner & mean, wherby I trust surely that your grace by your wysedome & pollycy wyl conuerte & turne thes your actys not only to the quyestnes of your subyectes now in thys tyme wherin you reyne, but also to the commyn comfort of al your posteryta.

And fyrt thys I wyl in the begynnyng playnly confesse vn-to your hyghnes, that although sone aftur my fyrt entre in to your seruycy, when I perceyuyd not only your polityke wysedome, wherby your grace so ernystely myndyd the quyestnes of your subyectys in thys

¹ Page 459.

² Page 460.

cyuyle & wordly lyfe, but also your most chrystyan mynd & iugement, wherby you lokyd vp euer to a nother lyfe, wherof thys ys but a schadow, dyrectyng ¹ al your actys & pollicy to the attaynyng therof, I conceyuyd by & by thys hope & trust in my hart, that your hyghnes wold never promote nor stablysch any acte in thys your Reame & cuntry but such only as schold tend to your gracys honowre & to goddes glory, ye & such as schold not be only to the quyetenes of thys present age, but also of al our posteryte, though thys hope I say I conceyuyd wyth myselfe yet hyt was not surely groundyd in my stomake, nor ther fully rotyd tyl now of late when hyt pleasyd god by hys prouydeance so to ordeyne for our welthe that your hyghnes by just occasyon myght plukke away the rote & grounde of al contrary suspycyon. for thys I thynke may truly be sayd, that so long as that woman lyuyd, whome hyt plesyd your hyghnes, as I take hyt, mouyd by opynyon of vertue to sett in such hygh dynnyte, few actys coud procede by the conjecture of wyse men wych myght be durabul wyth our posteryte, but euer lyke as a sore in mannys body, when hyt ys not inwardly & throughly healyd, but hathe fayre flesche & coloure vtwardly for the tyme apperyng, at the last brekyth out daungerously, so such actys as apperyd to be byld apoun that weke foundatyon, though for a tyme they myght perauenture haue induryd, beyng confirmyd wyth the only obeydience dew vnto your mayestye, yet at the last in processe of tyme they wold haue brought to themselfe ruyne & destrucyon: but now ² sythen hyt hathe pleasyd the gudnes of god to open thys gate of honowre vn-to your hyghnes, and in tyme to cut vp the rote of al such sedyeyon wych myght not only by the iugement of them wych be your true subyectys, but also of al other vtward natyonys, hane sprong therby other among vs now lyuyng, other among our posteryte, I schal not dowte to conceyue sure hope, ful trust & confydence, that your gracys actys schal both now in our age take profytabel effect and long endure to the settynge forthe of the truthe & to your immortal glory. For now as touchyng your gracys successyon I trust we in thys tyme schal never see occasyon of controuersye; for as much as such frute as hyt schal pleyse god to send your hyghnes to our comfort by thys your last matrymony schal put al thyngys out of dowte & ambyguyte, and yet grete hope I haue that your hygh wyesdom & pollicy, consyderyng the mortalyte of man & the vncertainty of frute, the mean tyme wyl never suffur thys your Reame to stond wythout heyre appoyntyd by your powar & authorte, specyally seyng that to the appoynment therof are ioynyd such occasyonys so manyfold benefyts, and commyn groundys of al quyetenes and tranquillyte, for such a personage to appoynth thervnto your hyghnes hath, as by the consent of al men lyuyth not apon erthe, the floure of al ladys & the verray glas & image of al vertue & noblyte, to whome, though I trust hyr grace schal never succede but other frute to take place, yet the mean tyme ³ sure hope I

¹ Page 461.² Page 462.³ Page 463.

III PREACHERS SHOULD BE RESTRAINED FROM EXTREME LANGUAGE.

haue that your hyghnes & wysedome perceyng as wel the transquillyte of the harty of your subyectys here at home therby to be stablyschyd, as the intertenure of amyte wylward prynceys by the same to be confirmyd, wyl appoynt hyr grace at tyme conuenient to that rome & dygnute, and so by that occasyon stablysch the fynt ground, & lay the most sure foundatyon of al the rest of your actys, & of al reformatyon. for of thys dede, though in effect sehe never succede, what honowre schal ryse to your grace among al other externe natyonys, what quyvetnes at home among your owne subyectys, what amyte & loue wylward prynceys I wyl not be about, nor yf I wold, I coude not, fully expresse, but thys one thyng apperyth to me certayn & sure, that herin lyth a grete ground & stablyte, a grete stey & knott, of al your gracy actys in thys new pollicy. Wherfore I schal never dowe that your gracy wysedome & gadnes can pretermyte thys occasyon of hygh honowre & conwyn quyvetnes: and then I schal also much lese dowe of any daungerouse successe wych by the iugement of some men may folow & succede thys your act of the plukkyng downe of the prymacy of Rome. For much fearyd hyt ys, & as hyt ys thought not wythout reason, that thys defectyon from Rome, & chaungyng of the old pollicy, schal not only alter the stormakys of al other chrystian prynceys from your gracy sure & faythful amyte, for as much as they are thought to inge to, ¹be plukkyd away therby the foundatyon & ground of al chrystian ralygyon, but also mynystur a certayn occasyon of the brech of concord & vnyte here at home in your owne natyon bycause that many of your subyectys are thought in hart no thyng to fauour thys alteratyon of pollicy & thys defectyon."

As to this, he says, he is sure that, could the king's supremacy have been established without the necessity of punishing so severely those who refused to acknowledge it, not only would the king himself and all the people been pleased, but it would also have set such an example to other princes that they would all at once have followed the example set them. He yet expresses his hope and confidence that

"precharys, wych haue run somewhat at large now a long tyme schalbe brought to a certayn stey, & not haue lyberty to expowne the darke placys of scripture aftur theyr owne fantasys, silyping raschely bothe from the sentence of the auncyent interpretares of Chrystys doctryne & from the consent & custome of the church, vsyd from the begynnyng vn-to thys day, ²the wych temeraryouse & lyght iugement hathe byn a grete oncasyon of the breche of chrystian charyte here among vs your subyectys, to whome they prechyd as vn-to Infydelys, blynd & ignorant of al Chrystys doctryne and ralygyon, the wych as they say tyl now of late that the pope was dryuen away, & tyl hyt

¹ Page 464.

² Page 465.

pleasyd god to send lyght to the world opeynyd by them vn-to your pepul, was vtturly vñknownen even as Chryst was vn-to the iuys before hys comyng," the effect of which preaching was that,—"vnder the colowre of dryuyng away manrys tradycyon & popyschnes, they had almost dryuen away al vertue & holynes,"—so that the people began to lose their belief in any doctrine, "and wyth the despysyng of purgatory, they began lytyl to regard hel, heuyn, or any other felycyte hereaftur to be had in a nother lyfe." Could those who had suffered for their "dysobedience" have believed that the changes would have stopped there, "yf they had thought that we shold haue slyppyd therby to no ferther error nor pestylent opynyon," they would, he is sure, willingly have given their assent to it; and though some "lyght personys" suspect all who favour "the old & aunoyent custumys & be lothe to see them troden vnder fets . . . to desyre in hart the abrogatyon of your acte, & to haue the pope to be restoryd to hys old authoryte," yet he is sure that all with one consent are fully content, and "that they wych babyl so much of the popys popyschnes abhorre no more hys usurpyd powar & domynyon then doo they whome they note yet to be papystys & ful of superstycyon."

He proceeds—

"Albeyt some mea consyderyng wyth them selfys certayn of your actys succedyng thys defectyon from Rome, as the acte of fyrst fruytys, of the tenthys,¹ & of the suppressyon of thes monasterys & housys of relygyon, iuge therby playnly that the body of your reame in few yerys schalbe much impoueryschyd, & much myssery among your pepul schal succede the same, yet when I consydur your graces hygh wyesdom & prudenc wherby your hyghnes most clerly seeth how the welthe of al pryncys hengyth chefely of the welthe of theyr subyectys, & how penury euer breydth sedytyon, & how the hepyng of tresure wythout lyberalyte, hath always brought in ruyne & destrucyon of euer comynalty, I am then certayn & sure that as you haue not wythout grate prudenc & pollicy conceyuyd the groundys of thes your actys, stablyng them wyth poltyke reson, so you wyll see & prouyde that they may procede to such end, as by your hygh wyesdom they were chefely dyrectyd vnto. Wherfore consyderyng that thys wordly tresure ys no such thynge ² wherin any nobul hart can take hys delyte & pleysure, sure hope I haue that your grace, whome I know so devely can wey the nature of thyngys, wyl most lyberally dyspense thys tresure & dyspose thys ryches, to the syd succur & comfort of your most louyng & obedient pore subyectys, and where as before tyme vnder the pretext & colowre of relygyon

¹ The Acts restraining the payment of Annates to Rome were 23 Henry VIII., cap. 20; 25th Henry VIII., cap. 20. See the *Dialogue*, pp. 136, 199, and Mr Cowper's Introduction to this volume, pp. clxx-clxxii.

² Page 469.

thys abundance of ryches was abusyd to the nuryschynge of an idul rowte, mynstryng occasyon to al vyce & vanyte, now I trust by your gracys gudnes to see hyt turnyd to the setting forth & increase of all vertue & honestye, & to the comfort of them wych schalbe profytabal cytzynys lyuyng in some honest exercys in thys your commynaltye;¹ for many tymys syth I haue had iugement to cosydur the end to the wych man of nature ys borne & brought forth, sore I haue lamentyd to see so many vnder colowre of relygyon to lyue as burdonys of the erthe, abusyng the frutys & benefytys of god to theyr owne destractyon." Those, he hopes, who before "ran fast to be prestys & relygyouse, more for hope of profyt & easy lyuyng then for loue of vertue & perfayt relygyon, schal now somewhat stey, & apply themselfys to some other honest fascyon of lyuyng, approuyd by gud & poltyke ordur." Especially he points out that as there are for every state times of war and of peace, so there are² "two dynersse sortys of men mete to be nuryschyd by the lyberalyte of pryncys necessary to the mayntenanc of comynyn pollycy, that ys to say, men of letturus & lernyng, & men exercysyd in featus of armys & chyualrye, of the wych as the one sorte ys necessary for warre, so the other must nedys be had in tyme of peace;" and therefore he trusts that such "superfluouse ryches, as by our forfatherys was by lytyl & lytyl accumulate & hepyd to the spirytualtye" may be turned to "the nuryschynge of thes sortys of personys wych schalbe profytabal to your cuntry both in warre & in peace. I trust to see now many a nobul gentlyman releuyd by thes actys, and exercysyng themselfys in al featus of armys made apte & mete to the defence of theyr cuntry. I trust now to see many a nobul wytty incurragyd to lernyng by your gracys lyberalyte, & made apte to eelebrate your fame & glory commenyng your pryncyal vertues to eternal memory. I trust now to see many notabul precharys spryng forth to lyght, and to declare to your pepul the truth of Chrystys doctryne syncretely; and fynally I trust now to see al such superfluouse ryches, wych among them that bare the name of spirytual nuryschyd no thyng but idulness & vyce, to be conuertyd & turnyd by your gracyouse³ gudnes to the increase of al vertue & honestye. . . . Howbehyt in thys acte of suppression of abbays & monasterys, among your pepul ther lythe no smal controuersye, specyally seyng that by the consent of al your lernyd clergye hyt ys agreed that such a place ther ys wherin soulys departyd remaynyng may be releuyd by the prayer & almy[s] dede of ther posteryte how I am persuadyd that your grace wyl conuert thys acte to the welthe of your subyectys now lyuyng, & to

¹ On the great good which *might* have been done with the revenues of the suppressed monasteries, see Crowley's *Epigrane*, E. E. T. S., ed. Cowper, p. 7, "Of Abbayes;" the *Complaint of Rodoryck Mors*, edited by the same gentle-
man, 1874; and *The Parish*, by the late Mr Toulmin Smith, 1857, p. 145.

² Page 470.

³ Page 471.

the comfort also of them wych be departyd I schal somewhat more particulerly touch. . . .

" And fyrist herin thys ys certayne that many ther be wyche are mouyd to iuge playnly thys acte of suppressyon of certayn abbays bothe to be agayne the ordur of charyte & iniuryous to them wych be dede bycause the foundarys therof & the soulys departyd seme therby to be defraudyd of the benefytes of prayer & almays dede ther appoynyd to be done for theyr releyffe by theyr last wyl & testament; and also the commyn wele & poltyke ordur apperyth to be much hyndryd & trowblyd by the same, bycause many pore men¹ therby are lyke to be depriuyd of theyr lyuyng & quyvetnes, wherin lythe as they thynke no smal iniurye: how be hyt as touchyng thes cauays commynly allegyd, though they seme to be of no smal weyght, yet they are obyectyd in thys mater by manyfest lake of iugement & consyderatyon, for to me a lytyl consyderyng wyth my selfe the nature of thys acte, hyt apperyth playnly nother to be vtturly agayne the ordur of charyte, nother yet the foundarys wyllys to be broken therby wyth any notabul iniurye, for thys ys a sure ground by the ordur of al lawys, & by the consent of al men of lernynge & iugement approuyd, that though grete respecte euer hath byn had of the last wyll of testatorys & much pruyylege grauntyd thereto, specyally when hyt perteynyd & tendyd to materys of relygyon, yet thys I trow was never thought of any men of wysedome & prudense that al theyr posteryte schold be bounden of hygh necessyte to the sure accomplyschment & ful obseruatyon of theyr wyllys prescrybyd in testament & that by no meanya they myght be chaungyd & ordryd to other purpos, for thys ys a sure truthe that the wyll & dede of euery pryuete man for a commyn wele may be alteryd by the supreme authoryte in euery cuntrey & kynd of pollicy, for as much as euery man by the ordur of god ys subyct thereto, & hys wyl euer presupposyd to be obedient to the same in so much that though he be other absent or dede, yet hyt ys alway by reson thought that yf he were present he wold gyue hys consent to al such thynghys as be iugyd by commyn authoryte to be expedient to the publicke wele, to the wych no pryuete wyl may be lawfully repugnant. Wherfore albehyt the last wyl of the testatorys be by thys acte alteryd wyth authoryte, yet hyt ys not broken wyth iniurye, bycause the consent of the testator ys presupposyd to be conteynyd therein. in so much that hyt may surely be thought that yf they were now lyuyng agayne & saw the present state of thys world now in our days, how vnder the pretense of prayer much vyce & idulnes ys nuryeschyd in thes monasterys instytute & foundyd of them, and how lytyl lernynge & relygyon ys tought in the same, ye & how lytyl chrystyan hospytalyte ys vsyd therin, they wold perauenture cry out with one voyce, saying aftur thys maner to pryncys of the world—'alter thes foundatyonys wych we of long

¹ Page 472.

tyme before dyd instytute, & turne them to some bettur vse & commodyte. We neuer gaue our possessyonys to thys end & purpos to the wych by abuse they be now applyd. We thought to stablysch husys of vertue, lernyng & relygyon, the wych now, by the malycs of man in processe of tyme we see turnyd to vycy, blyndnes, & superstycyon. We thought to stablysch certayn cumpanys to lyue togyddur in pure and chrysyan charyte, wherin we see now reynyth much hate, rancore & enuye, much slothe, idulnes & glotony, much ignorance, blyndnes & hypocrysye, wherfor we cry, alter thes fundatyony & turne them to bettur vse; prouyde they may be as commyn scolya to the educatyon of youth in vertue & relygyon, out of the wych you may pyke men apt to be ordaynyd byschoppys & prelatys for theyr perfectyon: prouyde they may be some ornament to the commyn wele & not as they be now skaunderouse & therwyth grete detryment.¹ Thys perauenture they wold say vn-to your hyghnes, requyryng your wysedome to cal thys mater to some lyke consyderatyyn, wherby hyt may appere that theyr wyllys are not vtturly frustrat & broken by your gracys actys.

“ And yet many men ferther, as hyt apperyth to them not wythout reson, haue requyryd in thys mater much rather a just reformatyon then thys vthur ruynoos suppressyon. How be hyt thos men, as I thynke, haue not in dylygent consyderatyon such thynngys as in thys acte are pryncipally to be ponderyd & weyd, for though hyt be so that prayer & almyt dede be much to the comfort of them wych be departyd, & though god delyte much in our charytabul myndys therby declaryd, yet to conuerte ouer much possessyon to that end & purpos, & to appoyn特 ouer many personys to such offyce & exercyse, can not be wythout grete detryment & hurt to the chrysyan comynwele, gud ordur & true pollicy . . . ² & though hyt be a gud tlyng & much relygyouse to pray for them wych be departyd out of thys mysery, yet we may not gyue al our possessyonys to nuryng idul men in contynual prayer for them, leuyng other destytute of helpe wych be in lyffe, for to the one we are bounden by expresse commandement, whereas the other qumyth but of mere deuotyon.” It can, therefore, he says, be no fraud on the dead to turn their endowments to the benefit of the living, since the latter will than be bound to pray for their benefactors, and if they fail to do so the fault will lie with them, and not with the dead, “ for whether we pray or pray not they schal not be depryuyd of theyr reward ³ by goddyns gudnes to them appoynthyd, and yet I doo not say but that hyt ys grete comfort & releyffe to them to see theyr posteritye to haue them in charytabul memory, the wych thyngh ys to be requyryd of al men of every sort & degré, & not only of them wych lyue in monasterys.”

The suppression of the monasteries, by reducing the number of those who run to the monastical life, “ more mouyd by the

¹ Page 474.

² Page 475.

³ Page 476.

idul quyetnes & vayn pleasure therin, then by any desyre of perfayt vertue & true relygyon,"¹ will therefore, he believeth, tend greatly to the advantage of the country, to the honour and glory of God, and to the increase of good order. "For to me conseyderyng the state of our countrey & nature of the same, & comparyng hyt to other, hyt apperyth playnly that though ther be therin ouer grete nombur of idul personys & yl occupyd, yet, ² regard had of the fertylite, nature, & largenes of the place ther may appere a grete lake of pepul & inhabytantys of the same, in the conuenyent multytude of whome I iuge to rest the chefe mater, ground & foundatyon wherapon ys byldyd al cyuyle ordur & poltyke, the wych thyng may be gatheryd & protyd suffycently, not only of the grete wast groundys, rude & vntyllyd, & of the forestys, commynanys, & parkys fyllyd wth wyld bestys, wych myght by dylgent culture be conuertyd to profytabel vse and brought to the nuryschynge of man,³ but also of the rare & smal nombur of cytes & townys, & of the commyn dekay & ruyne of the same throughout al thys your reame & natyon, albehyt here-of many other causys may be notyd, but where as nother warre pestylens nor famyn hathe mynystryd cause to the desolatyon of cytes & townys, hyt must nedys appere that the dekay & ruyne therof spryngyth much of the penury of pepul & lake of inhabytantys, for of thys desolatyon other grete causys & other chefe groundys I fynd not many: and for thys cause long I haue thought & iugyd thys grete nombur of prestys & relygyouse,⁴

¹ Page 477.

² Compare the *Dialogue*, pp. 70—73.

⁴ Complaints of the excessive number of friars and monks are frequent. Wyclif says:—"not two hundred 3eere agone per was no frere . . . And now ben mony pouarde of freris in Englyond."—*Works*, ed. Arnold, III. 400. See also the *Dialogue*, p. 149, and *A Supplyacion to our mooste soueraigne Lord, Kyng Henry the Eight*, H. E. T. Soc., ed. Cowper, p. 40; and compare the following:—

"Agayne, what an infinite nombur of monstures, Monokes, I would haue sayd, and other religiouse parsons, and God wyl, as they desyre to be called, did there arise in this kyngdom? Who thought it not a better dede to put his childe into an Abbay, and there to liue idelly, swinishly and irreligiously pampered vp wi al delicious fare that should prouoke vnto lewdnes, than to lette hym lyne abroade in the wolle, and there to practyse some honest arte and occupacion, that might turne to the commodite and mayntaynance of the common weale? What blindnes had inuaded thys Realme! Did not we thinke it rather our dutye to obeye the proude Bishop of Rome than our own natvie kyng? Did not we esteme hye fantasticall deores aboue the edictes, lawes, & actes of our own kyng? were we not more ready to folowe his sensuall lustes and beastlyke pleasures, than to obey the commaundementes of our own kyng & ruler? Into what perylles would not we caste ourselves to do y^e rammish Bishop pleasure? Yea would God y^e certayn of this realme in tyme past had not rather had a mynd to dye for y^e malutenaunce of y^e false usurped power of y^e Bishop of Rome than to lyue w^t obedyente and' faythfull hertes to oure mooste Chrysten kyng" (Becon, *Pathway to Prayer*, *Works*, 1564, Vol. I. fol. xcii).

³ Page 478.

lyuyng vnmaryd in vnclene lyfe, to be much skaunderouse to chrystian commyn welys & to gyre no smal occasyon to the dekay of thys ground, the wych ys dowtales, as the veray foundatyon to al eyuyle ordur chefely to be regardyd. Wherfore now in thes days to my iugement hyt apperty¹ hyghly expedyant other to mynysch thys nombur of prestys & of relyzyouse personys, other to alter thys law of bound chastyte, though hyt hatha byn neuer so long receyuyd, but wych of thes two thynghys ys now to thys tyme more conuenyent I schal leue to your gracys wyesdome & iugement; and of thys mater no thyngh dowte at al, but that here ys a grete lake & penury of pepul & inhabytantys in your cytes & townys & hole cuntry: the wych lake, as hyt appertythe to me, may in some part be redressyd & helpyd by thys your acte of suppressyon. For where as before tyme in thes monasterys was nuryschyd a multytude of men lyuyng vnmaryd, & dowtales many in vnclene lyfe, to the grete dyshonowre of god, & let of natural propagatyoun, grete trust I haue that your hyghnes by your gudnes & wyesdome wyl now set & plant therin men lyuyng in lawful matrymony, wherby the nombur of your pepul schalbe hereaftur much increasyd, to goddys honowre & glory.² . . .

³ “But here ys a thyngh wych many wyse men feare & gretely dystrust, & what hyt ys I schal to your hyghnes breuely declare. Hyt ys openly iugyd & commynly thought that the ferme & occupying of thes abbays & monasterys schalbe leysyd & set vn-to grete lordys & gentylmen of much possessyonys & to them wych haue therof no grete nede at al, the wych dowtales, yf hyt so be, schal much deface & gretely dymynsch the profyt of your acte & publyke vtylyte, for then schal the grete commodyte therof run but to few & to such wych myght lake hyt ryght wel, & your pepul therby schalbe lytyl then increasyd; wheras yf the fermys therof were leysyd by copyhold, & of a mean rent, to yongur brotherne lyuyng in seruycs vnprofytably, & to them wych be of lowar state & degré, they schold gretely helpe to set forward chrystyan cynylyte & much increase the nombur of your pepul, specyally yf the ferme of the hole monasterys and demaynys of the same were dyuydyd in-to sundry portyonya & dyuerse holdys, & not leysyd to one to turne hyt vn-to a graunge. And thys thyngh schold not be viturly wythout reson & gud conseyderatyon, for ptyte hyt were that so much feyre howsyng & gudly byldyng, wych myght wyth commodyte be maynteynyd to the comfort of man schold be let fal to ruyne & dekay, wherby our cuntry myght appere so to be ⁴ defacyd as hyt had byn lately ouerrun wyth ennymys in tymo of warre, the wych must nedys ensew yf the hole monastery be leysyd but to one to whome hyt schal not be necessary to maynteyne so much housyng, but a schyppe-cote perauenture schalbe to hym suffycyent.” He suggests that each monastery be divided and leased to several men instead of one, so

¹ Page 479.

² Compare the *Dialogue*, pp. 148 *et seq.*

³ Page 480.

⁴ Page 481.

that more households and citizens might be produced. "apte & mete to the servyce" of the commonwealth; the "relygouse" may be removed to the greater monasteries, where they can better observe their rules. "Wherfore grete trust I haue & sure hope that your hyghnes, by your synguler wisedome & grete pollicy, wyl plant in thes housys a nothre cumpany then hath beyn before, wyche haue gretly abusyd the benefytys of god & of god men to them gyuen, by whome the nombrur of your pepul schalbe bettetur increasyd & the mayestye of god, as hyt ys to be thought, much bettetur pleasyd, ye, & the soulys of them wych be departyd much more comfortyd, of whome hyt may be iugyd conueniently that euer as they delyte & take much comfort of the faythful prayerys & remembrance of theyr postertye, so of the faynyd babbyng of many ful of hypocrysye ¹ more by custume then wyth deuotyon vsyd, they take lytyl releyffe & consolatyon. Wherfore though such a place be, as hath beyn euer affyrmyd of al the antyquyte, where as soulys departyd be retaynyd from the fruytyon of the dyuyne mayestye, ther takyng releyffe & comfort of our prayerys made in faythful lone & charyte, yet thys schal not folow of necessyte that by thys acte of suppressyon they suffur any wrong or iniurye, but rather, as fer as manys reson may attayne, schal take grete consolatyon to see theyr possessyonys, wych long haue byn abusyd to the nuryschynge of vye & idulnes,² now conuertyd & turnyd by your gracyouse gudnes & wisedome to the commyn comfort of theyr postertye & to the settynge forth of godlys glory, the wych doweles ys more schowyd & openyd to the world by the multytude & increase of hys pepul lyuyng togyddur in chrysyan eyuylte then by a few lyuyng in the monastycal lyfe & solytary." ³

Starkey then proceeds to treat of the question of the origin and progress of the supremacy of the Pope: two causes, he thinks, may be assigned for the former, "the one for as much as general counseyl of al chrysian natyonys was iugyd of wyse men to be expedient both to redresse al commyn errorys and heresys, & also to stablysch a conformyte of manerys & vnyte of chrysian doctryne in the wnyuersal church, hyt was thought 'also mete & conuenient to determe & appoyn特 one to be hede & chefe in the same to ordur the counseyl & propowne such thynghys as were decreed wyth authoryte: the other bycause the word of god & doctryne of Chryst ought to be kept perfayt & hole in al chrysian pollicys, & ought to be the ground & foundatyon whereapon al chrysian prynceys schold byld al theyr lawys & be the veray end wherenvnto they ought to dyrect al theyr actys & dedys, to the intent that prynceys schold not swarue from the groundys of scripture nor decree any thyngh contrary to the true sense

¹ Page 483.

² Compare the *Dialogue*, p. 181, "idul abbey-lubbary."

³ Compare the *Supplication of the Poore Commons*, E. E. T. Soc., ed. Cowper, pp. 79-80.

⁴ Page 485.

& integryte therof: hyt was perauesture iugyd by reson also to be veray expedient to stablysch such a hede wherby as by a commyn stey the hedy affectys of pryncys & vnlawful purposys myght in some parte be brydelyd, & conteynyd in ordur."

The principal cause of the continuance and increase of the power of the popes he thinks to be "that aftur the tyme that Constantyne, the grete, Emperoure, by the consent of al them wych were vnder hys monarchye, & by hys hygh powar, had stablyschyd thys hede, the euydent ¹ vtylyte wherof was felt & playnly perseuyyd through the hole chrystantian pollycy, & specyally in thys occydeast parte of the world, then men began to draw placys of scripture to the confirma-tyon therof, and in processe of tyme such as sownyd thereto wyth a lytyl apparent probabylyte were by the avauncerys of that powar declaryd to the world to proue the thyng of necessaryte, for such ys the symplecyte of man that every lytyl apparence, namely in materys of relygion, inducyth hym by & by to ful persuasyon, specyally when ther apperyth any daungarys or inconvenyentes annexyd & succedyng the same."

This power given to the popes might, he says, have continued had they been content with what was originally given to them; but as for reasons of policy they gradually increased it, so he thinks it was a matter of policy to end it, and he declares his conviction that as the Church prospered at first without a head in Rome, it will not injure it now if the Pope is deprived of his supremacy.² For though at first necessary, it had grown to such a height that it was essential to the safety of the country "vitruly to pluke out of al chrystantian pollycy such tyrauncyal iurysdycyon," and he hopes that other princes will follow the example set them in England.

Starkey then impreases on the king the necessity to "dysyfure and to separat a-sundure, al such as be groundys of scripture, laudabul custumys, ³ and honest rytyls tendyng to confirme true & perfayt relygyon frome manrys tradytion, folysch abusys & erroneouse, by the wych ys vnder growen al false & vayne superstycyon: for to thys dysyferyng & to thys maner of castyng downe the prynacy schal never succede the brech of chrystantian charyte, nor yet the ruyne of lernynge, vertus or of gud cyuylite. Wherof many honest hartys & relygouse haue conceyuyd grete feare & suspycyon, dowtyng much that wyth thys defectyon frome Rome, we schold haue fallen & slyppyd also from al old rytyls & rulys of our relygyon. But now sythen hyt hathe pleasyd your grace by your authoryte to stablysch the gud & auncyent custumys vsyd in chrystys church from the begynnyng, and to set forth the indyfferent mean betwyx the old &

¹ Page 486. ² Compare the *Dialogue*, pp. 198-9.

³ Page 489.

blynd superstycyon and thys lyght & arrogant opynyon lately entryng here among vs, I trust surely to see the doctryne of chryst so syncerely to be set forth, & the honoure of God so to be maynteynyd in thys new pollicy, that al other chrystian pryncys schal take therof lyght of true iugement. . . . ¹ Now I trust to see vertue & lernyng so to be estymyd here among vs, and so to be rewardyd by your gracys lyberalyte that al men schalbe much encurragyd thereto, and al men schal take therof iuste cause of reyocycng; for though vertue of hytselfe be suffycyent reward to al them wych wylt clare iugement can behold the bewty therof, yet the commyn sort hauyng therof no clare syght, syldome enteryth the strayte pathe ledyng thervnto, except they be encurragyd & inflamyd wyth some hope of vtward reward & benefyte;” and to this use he expresses his hope that the king will turn the immense revenues lately fallen to him. He then again refers ² to the “vndyscrete prechynge” which of late had nearly brought in “a certayn dyuysyon,” and hopes that in future the people may live in “perfayt vnyte, whervnto syldon and rarer prechynge, made wyth gretar lernyng & dyscretyon . . . schold mynystur no smal cause and occasyon;” for though at first “before Chrystys doctryne was taught to the world hyt was then necessary in euery cuntry to haue often & much prechynge, to plant in menys hartye the groundys of our relygyon, so now whereas hyt hath byn stablyd so many yerys, and both by educatyon & tradytion so wel confyrmyd, ther ys therof I thynke no such hygh necessyty,” and ³ “Persuadyd I am that yf so much prechynge had not byn veyd in thys alteratyon of your pollicy, but yf thynghys had byn set forth only by your pryncely powar & authoryte, ther schold never haue byn so much repugnyng nor so much gruge agayne your actys as apperyd openly,” for he says there is nothing “more vncumly in chrystian commyn welys then to see euery lewde person at lyberty to babyl in pulptyss of the groundys of scrypture and of hygh materys & weyghty concernyng relygyon, the handelyng wherof worthyl perteynyth to men of approuyd vertue & grete puryte of lyfe, hygh lernyng and depe iugement.”

He again returns to the encouragement of learning, ⁴ “by the syght wherof men schalbe styrryd & inflamyd lyghtly to folow thys our trade & kynd of pollicy, and thys schal gyue to other chrystian pryncys by your gracys actys clare lyght of iugement; thys schal moue them to loke to your exemplul; thys schal make them gladly to schake away the yoke of the tyraany of Rome, and, schortly to say, thys I thynke ys the only way to persuade other pryncys & to induce the world to inge thys defectyon to be a gud dede and to be wel doone. ⁵ and truly to say I thynke no one thyngh hath byn a gretar stey to chrystian pryncys to conteyne them in theyr old pollicy then hath byn the exemplul of Germanye, whose dyscorde and dyuysyon wyth so many kyndys of relygyon lately receyuyd hath made many

¹ Page 490. ² Page 491. ³ Page 492.

⁴ Page 493. ⁵ Page 494.

lxii STARKEY SUGGESTS A GENERAL COUNCIL TO ARRANGE MATTERS

chrystian harty, & many wise men much to abhorre al new alteratyon, but as Germanye by rashnes and, as I take hyt, by lake of sober iugement & dyscretyon hathe mynstryd lyght occasyon of ouer much lyberty to theyn pepul, by the reson wherof they slyppyd in-to a pestilent dyuysyon, and so hath much defacyd & spottyd thys kynd of pollicy, so I trust that Englund, gouernyd & rulyd by your hygh wyesdome & iugement, your pepul beyng temperyd wyth soburnes & modestye, schal mynstrur such exemplul & gyue such lyght therin that al other chrystian pryncys hereaftur schal gladly folow thys alteratyon, & much desyre in theyn commyn welys to see lyke ordur of pollicy ¹ and though Mastur Pole, in whome my trust surely was fyxyd; that he wold haue subecrybyd to the iugyd truthe herin, hathe lately declaryd by hys wrytyng a contrary sentence vndysecretely, yet I trust he ys not so malycouse, nor so lytyl studyouse of your gracys honowre, as to set hyt abrode to the face of the world; and yet yf he, forgettyng hym selfe, schold mynd so to doo, mouyd other by the desyre of the auancement of hys sentence, to the wych he iugyth the more parte of the world wythout controuersye dothe agre, other els styrryd by ambycyon & study of glory, wherwyth he may perauenture be inflamyd gretely, I dowte not but that your gracys subiectys schal take therof lytyl persuasyon," for, he says, as to the Pope's supremacy, provided no changes be made in the doctirines and rites of the Church, it will soon "be put in oblyuyon for euery man semyth commynly & vtturly to abhorre that vsurpyd and clokyd tyrauny."

The whole question he hopes may be brought before a General Council, ² the result of which he feels sure would be that the example set by Henry would be followed by other princes, for it is monstrous, he says, that "though byschoppys & prestys be the chefe membrys in chrystian commyn welys, hauyng powar of god to releysse men from al syn, as precharys of goddys word & mynstrurys of hys doctryne, where vnto al chrystian ³ pollicy must be framyd & as upon the chefe ground byldyd, yet by the vertue of goddys word to calenge any authoryte as hedys and rularys, and to clayme ouer al chrystian pryncys any superyorite, I thynke schal appere to goddys word playn contrary." For though secular authorities, as such, are subiect and inferior to ecclesiastical authorities, and the law of man to that of God, yet it does not follow that Christian princes, in whom rests all power, should be inferior to any of their subjects, even though the latter be endowed with ecclesiastical authority.

When he looks abroad and sees all the princes bent on war he is almost lost in despair, but he says, ⁴ "I trust to see a general counseyl

¹ Page 495.

² Page 496.

³ Page 497.

⁴ Page 499.

to folow and by your gudnes pryncepally the world restoryd to the old quyetnes, by the wych mean your grace schal not only doo the offyce and dewtye of a veray chrystian prynce and of a true hede of a chrystian congregatyon, but also by the consent of al men your hyghnes schalbe ingyd to be worthy of immortal glorie, and wyth hym to reyne, who ys the veray hede of al churchys eternally.

“ Thus I haue declaryd breyley vn-to your hyghnes the hopys wych I haue of thys present state & kynd of pollicy, mouyd by the redyng of Mastur Polys boke, wherin he studyth the abrogatyon of your actys, and the restitutyon of the old prymacy, declarlyng hyt to be a necessary ground to the conservatyon of chrystian vnyte and playnly schowynge how aftur hys iugement thes your actys repugnyng to goddys law can not long endure in thys present age, & much les wthyd your posteryte: but as he corruptly doth iuge your gracys actys, as he apperyth to me, blyndyd wthyd affectyon, not weyng they materys indifferently, so I trust & surely hope that your hyghnes, not only by your synguler gudnes, appoyntyng your successyon at tyme conuenyent, wel ponderyng the commodytes wych depend therapon, but also by your hygh prudence and pollicy, conteynyng your pepul in ordur and vnyte, wyl so tempur your actys wthyd al theyr successse annexyd to the same, and so ordur the present state dyrectyng al thyngys to goddys honowre & glory, that they schal not only be an exemplul to al other chrystian pryncys to folow and ensew, mynstryng vn-to them lyght of iugement, but endure also long & many yerys to the grete comfort of vs that in thys tyme, and to the inestymabul quyetnes of ¹ al our posteryte. Thes be my hopys, and ofte cogytatyonys & desyrys wherwyth aboue al wordly thyngys I comfort myselfe in thys mortal lyfe. In the declaratyon wherof vn-to your hyghnes, yf I haue erryd or conceyuyd amyng, I schal most humbly beseach your grace as my souerayne lord & mestur rather to impute of your gudnes myn errour to ignorancy and laki of expy-ence, then to any laki of wyl and desyre of that thyng wych perteynyth to your pryncely honowre, to the wych I schal serue duryng my lyfe, wthyd the same faythfulnes of hart, wherwyth ² I serue hym, who ys the maker, gouernowre, and rulare of all.”

§ 17. Here we practically take leave of Starkey, for beyond indirect notices of his death in the appointment of his successors in the livings held by him, we have no further mention of his name.

He had been named on the 30th December, 1536, to the Collegiate Chapel of Corpus Christi, in connection with the Church of St Laurence, Candlewick Street, London,³ and was presented to

¹ Page 500.

² M.S. wherwhythe.

³ Thomas Starkey clericus habet litteras Regis patentes de presentacione ad Collegium sive Capellam corporis Christi iuxta ecclesiam sancti Laurencij prope Candelwiche strete Ciuitatis Londoni: London. Dioc. per mortem ultimi

the living on the 26th January following. Hither, doubtless, he betook himself after the failure of the negotiations with Reginald Pole, and here he composed the *Dialogue*, having, as he says, "alate in leyser and quietnes gedrid certayn thinges by long obseruatyon and put them in wryting."

Of this Chapel Newcourt¹ gives the following account:—

"The Parish Church of S. Laurence stood on the west side of S. Laurence Lane (so call'd of this Church), which runs down from Canon-street to Thames Street, in Candlewick-street Ward, and being near Candlewick (now Canon) Street, was in old time call'd S. Laurence Candlewick-street Church.

"It was in antient time increas'd with a Chapel of Jesus, by Thomas Cole, for a Master and a Chaplain; the which Chapel and Parish-Church was afterwards made a College of Jesus and *Corpus Christi*, for a Master and seven (or rather twelve) Chaplains, by John Poultney, Mayor, and was confirm'd by Edward III. in the 20th of his Reign, having the year before, viz. July 1, 1345, granted Licence to the said John, to give and assign to the Custos of the Chantry founded by him, to the Honour of *Corpus Christi*, and of the Church of S. Laurence, near Candlewick-street, London, and to the twelve Chaplains celebrating there, the Advowsons of the Churches of Napton, West-Tilbury, Chevele, Sheule, and Spelhurst.

"Of this Founder, Sir John Poultney, was this Church afterward call'd S. Laurence Poultney (now commonly Pountney), which College at the Suppression was valu'd at £97 17s. 11d, and surrendered in the Reign of Edward VI.

"This Church (which on the Steeple had a very lofty spire of Timber and Lead, new-leaded in 1631 and 1632) was burnt down in the late dreadful Fire, and after that united to that of S. Mary Abchurch, which is made the Parochial-Church for both Parishes; both which are made of the yearly value of £120 in lieu of Tythes to the Incumbant, and the site of this remains only as a burying-place for the Inhabitants of this Parish.

Hujus Collegii Magistri.

Joh. Blackden, A.M., 24 July, 1532, *per resig.* Stevyns.

Tho. Starkey, *pres.* 26 January, 1536, *per mortem* Blackden.

incumbentis eiusdem. Et directe littere ille Beuerendo in Christo patre Johanni Londoni Episcopo. In cuius &c. Teste Regis apud Westmonasterium xxx die Decembris.

per breve de priuati Sigillo & de dato &c.—Patent Roll, 28 Hen. VIII.
Part 8, mem. (19).

¹ *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londonense*, 1708, Vol. I. pp. 8, 889.

Will. Latymer,¹ pres. 22 October, 1538, *per mortem* Starkey."

The date of the following letter to Sir Geoffrey Pole is clear from the reference to Pole's having "[gott]en the Cardynallys hatte & robbe made." The mention to Throckmorton refers to his having been sent back to Pole with a strong protest from Henry and Cromwell against his accepting the dignity of cardinal.

(1 February 1537.²)

I wrote to you but short lately bycause I thought my lord, as he was purposyd, had come to you, but now I wyl recompense my shortenes, how be hyt as touchyng newys from Italy your frend hathe certyfyd you truly.³ I have expownyd *latine* to you. Master Pole hathe [gott]en⁴ the Cardynallys hatte & robbe made wyth su[che t]ryumphe as never was mas in Rome, and playnly hyt [ys] wryten out of Italy that he shal schortly be pope, *talis est multorum ibi expectatio*, but yet I can skant beleue that he wyl Inyoy that tytill before throgmortonya arryual, wych schalbe schortly, & schortly I trow also retorne, for thereapon heng grete thyngys. The mater ys not wel borne. I wold you were here for ij or iij days at your leysar, & come by my lord montague, yf you here of hys beyng ther at bokmore, for he wylbe also here thys next weke as I here. Our men in the north I trust be wel quyetyd: my lord of Norfolke wyth hys consayl ys now ther. Beyonde the see ther ys grete preparatyon apon al sydys, bothe among chrystan men & turkys, and lately the duke of florence was slayn by hys own Cosyn in the myddyl of hys owne towne, such myschefe ys in the world. Master goestwyke lokyth for you for the kyngys money, & thys Master olyver wyllyd me to wryte to you, & I am sure you wyl bryng hyt up wyth you and more to satysfye other credytorys, *si qui sint*. I have now other newys, but desyryng you that I may be most humbly recommendyd to my lady, your mother, *vale*. Londini, Calendis februarij,

Th. Starkey.

Here ys a letter of mastres brownys wythin.

[Addressed] The Ryght worshypful Sr geoffray pole.

§ 18. Of the exact date of Starkey's death we are ignorant. He

¹ Afterwards Dean of Peterborough. He it was who complained against Bonner, Bishop of London, for leaving out of his sermon at Paul's Cross the article of the king's authority in his minority, contrary to the king's injunctions, and for some neglects in his pastoral office and duty, for which he was prosecuted and deprived of his bishopric, October 1, 1549.

² *State Papers, Henry VIII., Public Record Office.* This letter is much worn, some parts being in a very bad state.

³ Nearly half a line is illegible here.

⁴ A hole in the paper here carries off the words supplied in brackets.

was certainly dead before the 1st September, 1538, for on that date Cranmer, as appears from the *Registers* in Lambeth Palace Library, presented Hugh Coren to the living of Great Mongeham, *per mortem naturalem* Thome Starkey, S. T. P. *vacantem* (leaf 365, back). If, therefore, the will printed above (p. viii) is really Starkey's, his death must have taken place in the last week of August, 1538. His successor at Corpus Christi was presented, as we have seen, to the living on the 22nd October, 1538, and the Patent appointing him bears date 24th September.

It is very evident that Starkey was far more suited for the life of a student than of a politician. Of a sincere and upright, but readily persuaded disposition, he was completely at the mercy of any more skilled in double dealings, and willing to take advantage of his weakness. His letters after the failure of the negotiations with Pole show at once his earnestness and his want of strength of mind, and it is clear that from the first he was looked upon and used by both parties simply as a tool.

I have omitted all mention of Starkey's work, *An Exhortation to Christian Unity*, because it is quite uncertain when it was written. It is quite possible, and not improbable, that it was composed in 1534, and that it led to his being recommended by Cromwell for the appointment of chaplain to the king. The work, which is fully described by Strype, *Eccles. Memorials*, Vol. I pt. i. pp. 266, 514, begins by stating how "the Pope for maintenance of his authority, under colour of religion, had brought in among Christians much false superstition; and for the maintenance of his pride set great divisions among Christian princes; what insolent pride and arrogance it was in the Pope to affirm a superiority among Christ's disciples, making Peter chief head, and so the Bishop of Rome he that must be chief judge over all Christendom, and over all princes and laws, with interdicts and dispensations to rule them at his pleasure: that the Pope's prerogative could not be shown from any ground of Scripture. That until the time of Pope Sylvester, about the space of four hundred years, there was no mention at all made of this head: that all the ancient and good interpreters of Christ's gospel among the Greeks kept silence concerning this authority, in all their books never making any mention of it: and that if this were true, then should all the Indians these thousand years have run headlong to damnation, who never took the Bishop of Rome to be head of Christ's Church. The

same might be said of the Greek nation, and of the Armenians, who would never own that Bishop for their head."

He concludes as follows :—

" Wherefore, dear friends, seeing that this superiority, given to the Bishop of Rome, is neither by God's word in His Scripture granted, nor by the practice thereof by His apostles, inspired with His Spirit, confirmed and founded, as a thing to the salvation of man requisite and necessary ; I see no cause why we should so stiffly maintain the same, and so stubbornly repugn to such good and common policy ; whereby is plucked away from our nation such a cloaked tyranny, which under the pretext of religion hath stabled among us much superstition, to the great ruin and decay of the sincere, simple, and pure doctrine of Christ."

The following letter appears to be the original draft of Starkey's application to Cromwell for appointment as king's chaplain, already reprinted at p. ix from the more complete copy in MS. Harl. 283 :—

For as muche that I see you so occupyd in materys of weyght in al such tymys wherin you gyue audyence to such as sue vn to you for your socur & conseyl, I haue thought most conuenyent, breuely in wrytyng to schow the cause of my sute now vn to you, besechynge you at your pleasure to rede hyt, at suche tyme, as you are not besyid wyth gretur affayrys ; requyryng you also of pardon of thys my importune boldnes, for maruayle you may, that I, beyng to you a straunger & almost vñknowyne, schold so boldly requyre your conseyl & ayde, & specyally in such a cause wych semyth to requyre longur acquyntaunce ; but maruayle you not, your gentylnes ys the cause, I assure you. the synguler humanyte schowyd vn to me at your fyrist communycatyon, and the grete gudnes wych you to al men declare in al gud & honest requestys hathe put such confydence in my hart and stomake, that I put no dowte, that you wyl not only gladly here my request, but also put to your conseyl & ayde to the fortherance of the same, and bycause I wyl not trowbul you ouer long, schortly to schow you thys hyt ya. I wyl open my mynd now vn-to you, non other wyse, then hyt ys open to hym who seeth al. I haue spent many yerys in the studye of letturys, occupying my pore wytt wythe such dylgence as I coude, to attayne to some knolege, both of the law of god & of the law of man, and in thys my studys, I haue had hytherto grete pleasure and confort, euer more trustyng to haue some occasyon & tyme wherin I myght apply such lernyng as I attaynyd vn to, at the last to some vse & profyt of my cuntrey ; thys hathe

¹ *State Papers, Public Record Office, Henry VIII.*

byn I testyfye god the end of my studys, thys hath the byn euer before my yees, and to thys now I loke vn to wythe gretur desyre then euer I dyd hytherto to any other thyng in my lyfe: but now In thys case & condycyon I stond, that of myselfe I can not attayne to thys end accordyng to my desyre, the gudnes of our prynce who gouernyth vs me semyth ys such, so sett to the restitutyon of the true comunyn wale, that my mynd now gyuith me thys, that yf hyt plesyd hys grace to vse me therin, I coude in some parte helpe ther vnto. Wherfor if hyt wold please you of your gudnes as my sure trust ys, aftur your prudence to helpe & set forwarde thys my purpos, what you schal deserue of me you can bettir conceyue, then I can wyth wordys expresse. Thys I assure you I schal euer juge that by you I haue optaynyd a grete parte of my felycyte, and the rest of my lyfe I wyl gladly spend accordyng to your ordur & dysposytyon.

Yours assurydly,
Thomas Starkey.

The following letter is interesting as exhibiting Starkey in a new light, that of a lover. The date is evidently before 1522, while he was still a young man, and it is written with a curious admixture of Italian, which shows plainly that he had not perfectly mastered the French tongue.¹

Much as I have often blamed nature because she has not placed windows in the breasts of men, so that their meellings might be understood without words, much more I now blame her, being as I am in a foreign country, so that I cannot in fit terms express my feelings towards you.

But true affection may often be expressed in rude and unpolished language: believe not, therefore, that these are the

Combien² au temps passe quant je pensoys de les oueres de nature il me semblot, che dan la male forme la nature des homes, pur ce che na pas fayt quelch petytes fenestres dawant le cure, affyn che sans parolles on les pouyt cognostre laffectyon, toutefoys au present Je le trouve plus graunt faute che jamays parauant, dautant che je constitue en vn pays estrangle la ou je ne puya exprymr avec parolles ou termes ce che mon pouer cour panse. neanmoyns, quant je me souuyent de vostre graunt humanyte & cure benyng, cela me ha balliva (?) peu de hardyesse pur ourye la buche, en faysant croire ausi che vous non regarderay poynt la rudesse de mes parolles, mays tant solement laffectyon du men cure, le quel se monstra volontyer plus souant en rudes parolles, che en elegantes & bien composees: et affyn che je ne vous donne trop grand fascherye avec mes lettres en peu de parolles je vous

¹ *State Papers, Henry VIII, Public Record Office.*

² *Byen souant was written first, then altered to Combien.*

declaray lyntestyon de mon cure,¹ mays au commencement je vous supplie, madame, de vous persuader, che ces parolles ensuyuant sont escript non pas avec loueur vyle & commune, mays avec les vyue sprytes de mon coura. Depuys le primer jur che jay veus la beuty synguler & la bonne grace che est en vous, et depuys² che jay cogneu & expertymente la honte honestete avec les synguler vertues, jay este pryns de vn si synguler affectyon envers vous, che jamays depuys mon pouer cour a este au sa lyberty acustumee: il non panse ne juor ne nuyt de autre chose synox de vous, et de telle sorte est rany che me semble che yl est plus verytablement avec vous che avec moy. Yl ha laisse mon corps toute desolee, sans joy & sans pleysyr, comment vous pourays voyr si jammays vous aues pryst gard de cela: et aunsi vous voyes laffectyon de mon cure. mays anchoire, affyn che vous ssaches la qualyte de icelle voys moy madame. Il non tende aaultre fyne si non de vous fayre honoure & servyce, et comme de vous vertues lha sa souree & fountayne, ausy en icelles, ha son fyne, comme je vous declareray plus largement quant a la vostra bona grace playre che je parleray a vous de ce purpos. Et purce, madame, je vous supplie par lamor che vous porte al honour & honestete de bony gentylhomys che lamor & laffectyon che je porte envers vous est si honeste che vous playse daccepter de bone cure, affyn che vous me restituer en mon liberty & che de cela. Se vous aues lu cecy je vous supplie de relier plus dylyglement & prenes les lettres escriptes a vous, purce che vous estes la dame a la quale je suys plus subiecte che au dame en ce monde: vous aues mon pouer cour a vostre commandement & purce je vous supplie trete luy gentylment selon.

words of common
praise but rather
of deep affection of
the heart.

From the first
day that I beheld
your singular
beauty and grace,

my heart, as a
captive, has been
able to think of
nothing but you.

of your honour
and your service:

as I trust to
declare to you in
words when it
shall please you
to speak with me.

When you have
read these few
words over, read
them again and
again, since you
are the one to
whom alone in
the world my
heart is captive.

Here again we have Starkey in an unexpected character. Apparently he had forgotten himself at a dinner, and under the influence of drink had used language unfitted for a theologian and a philosopher. There is no clue to the date of this letter, which is reprinted from the original in the Record Office.

¹ Mon cure is written over mes lettres erases.

² Written in the margin there is here as follows, but without any connection or caret:—le cuer non serrai (?) jamays repos che ha fiance en chose mortalle o che ame plus le chosea mortales che immortales, car lamor desordonee est la causa de toutes les maulx en ce monde, comme bien ordonnee est causa de toute bieuys (?).

Well did Pliny say that nothing in this world was more difficult than to judge the life and character of a man.

them whom not even Proteus himself was more changeable.

As philosophers and theologians should be all men be the most quiet and forbearing,

what could be more foolish and unbecoming than for a theologian so to forget himself as, under the influence of wine, to use scurrilous language, as you did at our friend Wittinton's dinner. Wherefore, my dear Starkey, repent, and show yourself, as before, a pattern of sobriety, modesty, and self-restraint.

Quam multa alia docte atque prudenter Plinius scribebat, tum illud mihi *quam* prudentissime ac sapientissime dixisse videtur vitam hominis multos recessus habere multasque latebras, vt plane nihil sit difficilis *quam* de vita ac moribus hominum judicare. Nam doctrina si qua est in aliquo, si qua dicendi vis ac eloquentia, facile seipsam prodit atque erumpit. Nec domini latere potest vtque vitro sese plerunque gestat proferre ac diffundere. At mores hominis difficilius cognoscuntur mutanturque sepius; Vt nihil sit homine fere versipellius nihil mutabilius; Non protens ille, quouis etiam Chamelionte versutior ac mutabilior, vt multa alia omittam. An nos videamus fere mansueto ac maiti ingenio homines remissos admedum ac tarde indolis ultra modum excandescere? Nam quemadmodum nihil est his hominibus odiosius qui sese sapientes existimant nihil non sibi, amicis autem parum tribuentes, nusquam non molesti, contumaces, loquaces, refractarii—qualem te minime esse judico—sic contra nihil his amabilius qui aliis plurimam, sibi antem nihil aut parum arrogantes, de suo etiam jure vbique decadere parati, ne dicam alieno: multum se intra suas vires contrahunt modestaque silent; audientes libenter judicium suspendunt, aut certe de quoemque judicare parum tutum esse putant ac plerunque etiam temerarium. Contentio enim pro re parva sicuti mulierum ac sophistarum propria est. Ita virorum est moderata ac tempestu taciturnitas maxime philosophorum ac theologorum, qui vt nomine ipso patet non de quibuscumque rebus loqui debeant sed de deo ac divinis, et fratrum amicorumque infirmitates et animi motus quosdam equo anime ferre, secundum illud evangelium, 'ne dicas fratri tuo, raha,' Quid enim, vt probe nosti, fertili theologo stultus aut intolerabilis? Porro quid minus conuenit homini theologo quam scurrilibus ludis ac jocis et, vt domestico vtmanus vocabulo, quartes (1) theologieque sessionis grauitatem inflectere cena communis nostri amici Wittinton. Id fecit ac mens vino flagrans continuisque potibus madula non potest now variis tum desideris tum affectibus estuare. Quare, mi Starkie, vtraque manu aut si manus cum hieronimo lapide pectus contundas et iterum ad sobrietatis, modestie, verecundie, taciturnitatis exemplar mihi ceterisque amicis omnibus imitandum te conuertas. Nemo nunquam sic a sese degenerauit vt non facile rursum mansuescat si modo culture vt Horacius inquit pacientem commodet aurem. Vale.

§ 19. The following letter in Starkey's handwriting,¹ and apparently addressed to Cromwell, seems to refer to his *Exhortation*. In it he protests against its being considered a fault in his book that he had inclined neither to the one side nor the other, a feature which he himself considers as the "chefe vertue of the oratyon." Moreover, considering the persons to whom it was addressed, he thinks he had gone into the point quite as much as was necessary. At the close he intimates his intention of publishing "a cartayn fantasye," by which he probably means his *Dialogue*.

Syr, I had thought thes days past to haue spoken vn to you concerningyn the lytyl oratyon wych lately I wryte & your sentence of the same, but bycause I haue seen you euer so occupyd, I haue not wythout cause hytherto abstaynyd, fearing I schold trowbel your necessary besynes wyth my communycatyon. Wherfor I schal besech you thes few wordys in wrytyng to accept, aftur your custumyd maner, & then to rede at your conuenyent leyser. Syr, syth you schowyd me of late what you thought of the boke, I haue perusyd the thyng agayn & weyd hyt wyth my selfe somewhat more dylgently, & playnly to confesse vn-to you the truthe, thys I wyl say, that as you haue jugyd of the mater so hyt ys indeede; thys mean ys not put out at large wych you requyre, wherin you haue jugyd aftur a nother sort then some other haue downe to whome you dyd exhybyte the thyng to rede, who, the chefe vertue of the oratyon, yf ther be any therin costeynyd, as I vnderstode, haue notyd for a grete faute, & that was bycause I apperyd to be ouer vehement agayn the one extremyte, & to be of nother parte, but betwyx both indyfferent, the cause of the wych jugement I wyl not touch but leue to your prudence. but, syr, to you I schal speke as I thynke, wych ys thys—that, euen lyke as you haue downe in al other thyngys, wherof at any tyme hyt hath plesyd you to talke wyth me, euer touchyd the stryng & knot of the mater, in so much that of your communycatyon I haue geddryd more frute of truth then I haue downe of any other man lyuyng syth I cam here to my cuntry, so you haue downe vndowtdyly in thys, for thys mean wych you requyre ys not at lenghth set out in my boke, nor I can not tel whether my wyt be suffycyent or abul therto, for this mean in al thyng ys a strange stryng, hard to stryke apon & wysely to touch, for by thys the armony of thys hole world ys costeynyd in hys natural course & bewty: by thys al cyuyle ordur & pollicy ys maynteynyd in cytes & townys wyth gud cynylyte: by thys manys mynd wyth al kynd of vertue garnyachyd ys brought to hys quyethnes & falycyte, and by thys here

¹ *State Papers, Henry VIII, Public Record Office.*

in our purpos al gud & true relygyon wythout impyety or superstycyon ys stablyschyd to goddys honowre & glory among al chrystyan natyonys. Wherfor to set out thys mean, as hyt ys a thyng most hyely to be desyryd, so my wytt & capacyte hyt for-passyth; & yet the mater I haue some what touchyd, & perauenture, as much as ys necessary for them to whom I dyrectyd my communycatyon, for as to the pepul thys particuler mean fully to presente I thynke hyt schold not nede, to whome you know obedyence ys more necessary to thyngys decreed by commyn authoryte then scrupulose knolege & exacte dysquysyton, the wych thyng perteyneth to hyar phylosophy. And for thys cause I thynke in the Conceyl of nece the summe of our fayth was geddryd & brought in to certayn artycles & so propownyd in *symbolo* to al chrystyan natyonys as a thyng to be had in hart suffycyent to the pepul wythout ferther dysquysyton, and in the rest euer gyuynge meke obedyence to the ordur & custume in euery cuntrē stablyschyd wyth concord & vnyte: and thys same thyng apperyth suffycyent to me that the pepul & body of the commynalty, euary man dowyng hys offyce & duty as he ys callyd & by goddys prouysyon appoynytēd here in thys wordly pollicy, schold haue apon the commyn ordur in euery cuntrē & leyn ther-vnto wyth sure fayth & expectatyon of euer-lasting lyfe, here after to be had by the mere benefyte & gudnes of god, who to vs, so trustyng in hym, hath made such promys of hys benygneta. Thys ys the most sure knot aftur my judgment of al chrystyan cyuylite, to the wych yf any pruynate person repugne sedycyoualy, mouyd by any scrupule of *conscience* superstycyously conceyuyd, yf he may nother be brought to knolege by gud instructyon, nor yet to obedyence wyth gentyl admonytyon, he ys not worthy to lyue in that commyn pollicy, nor to be a membr therof, as one that abhorrith from al gud ordur & cyuylite; non other wyse than he doth apon the other syde, who, by arrogant opynyon hyghly conceyuyd, al rytyngs & custumys ecclesiastical vtrilur despysyth & tredyth vnderfote: of the wych ij sortys I feare ther ys no small nombur here in our natyon, as I haue before more largely notyd. But Syr I trust that the gudnes of hym who hathe inspyryd in-to the hart of our prynce thys alteratyon of pollicy schal also gyue hym grace to fynd out the most conuenyent mean to set hyt forward wyth a commyn quyvetnes, to hys honowre & glory, for the wych I wyll not cease to pray, for to other thyng lytyl servyth my power & capacyte; and yet syr thys one thyng I dare affyrme & boldly say, that, though in my oratyon I haue not presentyd at length thys mean wherof you speake most prudently, yet yf ther were any such powar in my wrytyng & probabyl persuasyon wych myght induce in-to the hartys of the pepul of the scrupulose sorte such obedyence as I haue ther touchyd, schowyng also the maner how they schold ther-to be inducyd, I wold not dowte, I say, but that in concord & vnyte they schold agre wythout scrupule of *conscience* to al such thyngys as here be decreed by commyn authoryte. But thys lyth not in my

powar, wherefor I schal commyt al to the prouydence of god, reservyng yet a certayn fantasye herin to my selfe, wych I wyl, yf hyt may so please you, at conuenyent leyser open vn-to you, the mean tyme beseechynge you to pardon me of thys my rudenes in wrytyng, the wych I pray you, yf hyt be your pleasure, when you haue red, commyt to the fyre.¹

§ 20. I have reserved the following letter² for the last, not only as being in my opinion the latest in date, but also inasmuch as it is that in which Starkey dedicates his *Dialogue* to Henry VIII., and explains his motives in writing it. It does not help us much in ascertaining the date of that work: we can only see that it was after June 1536, since Pole's book is referred to; and if Strype is correct in stating that Lupset accompanied Pole to Rome (see p. xlv), it must have been after January 1537. The true date I believe to be about June 1538, since it is not at all probable that Starkey would have ventured to dedicate to Henry a book in which Pole was so favourably introduced, or to speak of him so highly in the present dedication, while his bitter language was still fresh in the king's mind.

Long and much at suzdry tymis I haue with my selfe, most nobull prince, reasonyd and consideryd to what end and porpos man by nature schold be creat and brought forthe here in to this lyght, for though man so lyue commynly giuing hymselfe to all wordly vanyte as ther were in him nothing immortall and heuanyl, yet wen I be hold his gudly forme, fascyon, and stature, with so much comly be-hauyour, and then consider also his grete wit and pollici wth such a meruelouse memory, that all thinges therby he comprehendith, I casnot but thinke that he ys formyd and made to a hier end and porpos then any other lyuing creature [on] erthe; I casnot but thinke and playnlly juge that he ys brought forthe to the intent that all such giftys as be to him by the benefyte of nature and gudness of god aboue all other mortall creaturyis giuen he schold commyn and aply to the profyt [of] other and setting forthe of godlys glory, to the wych porpos me semyth euer he schold dyrect and appoyn特 all his actys and dedys, conseyllys and thoughtys, as to the chefe end shortly to say aftur my jugement to the wych he ys borne and of nature brought forthe. and so by this consideratyon mouid long and many a day most nobull prince much desirouse I haue byne to serue your grace and my countrey imployng such giftys as of his mere gudnes hit hath plesid him god to comyn vnto me must gladly in your seruyce

¹ Endorsed in a late hand. "Cranmere, as I suppose. A declaracion of worke w^{ch} he had mynded to publishe."

² *State Papers, Henry VIII., Public Record Office.*

to the setting forth of goddys honowre and glory, to the wych I juge myselfe so to be burden of ryght dewty, that except in some parte occasyon serue me to satyfy the same, the rest of my lyfe schall appear vnto me both tedyouse and displesant. wherfor seing that nother tyme nor place hath not yet seruid me nor mynistryd occatyon of declaring myn affect and ardent desire concerning the same I haue now alate in leyser and quietnes geddrid certayn thinges by long obseruatyon and put them in wryting wych I trust to your gracys wysdome and jugement schall appear to this tyme nothing dyconuenient, after that I haue a lytill at large openid vnto your hig[h]ness the processe of the mater and the cause wych hath mouid me now at this tyme to the writing of the same. aftur that I had spent parte of my youth in the study of philosophi and therby somewhat perceyuid the dygnite of manrys nature inflamyd I was with a grete desire to take sum experyence of the manerys of other pepull in strange natyon to the intent I myght therby of such thinges wych I had in bokys red, geddrd and confyrme a more stabull and sure jugement: wherapon I went streyght in to the centre of Italy, as to the place most famyd both with grete lerning and gud and just pollici, by the reson wherof glad I was ther certayn yiris to be conuersant as dilygently as I cowd obseruing ther lerning ther in hye philosophy as ther manerys and practyse in commyn pollysi, by the wych obseruatyon I was somewhat better instructe at my return into myn owne cuntrey indyfferently to considur & wey the custumys and manerys of myn owne cuntremen with the pollicy vsid here in our natyon, wherapon I lokyd as a stranger as me thought in no parte corrupt by any affectyon, but indyfferent jugement evry thing examyning: and so well noting the manerys here vsid at home and comparyng them with other vsid in straunge natyon I haue fund grete correctyon with much abuse in law and pollici wherof by long obseruatyon I haue geddryd a certayne commentary and compyliid as hit were a lytill boke of the same. The processe whereof I will bref[ve]ly vnto your grace open and schow now at this tyme, for as much as [I] perceyue your highness now nothing more curith and hath in mynd than the extyrtayson of all abusys both in custume and law by processe of time growen in here in this your commynwelth, by the reson whereof grete hope I haue onys yet to see that veray and true commyn wel whereof I haue with myselfe fansid here in your reame to haue place and by your high wysedome and pollici here to be stablyschid and set to the grete comforte of this present age and of all our posteryte. and for as much as my porpos ys in this commentary to tuch the maner and mean of the restytutyon of this true commyn wele and Iuste pollici I haue deniding the boke in to iij partys in the fyrt openid as far as my pore wite and sklender lernyn[g] wyll serue what thing hit ys that me so much speke of and call a commynwele or a gud and Iust pollicy, and wherein hit principally stondith and chefely is grondyd: in the seconde part I haue geddryd as my lytill experyence hath seruyd me

the most commyn and notabull abusis, both in manerys custummys and all commyn lawys wych in prosses of tyme are entryd among vs, whereby we are slippyd from that gud and iuste policy: and in the theyrd parte fynally I haue touchid the maner and mean how thes abusys both in custum and law may be reformyd and the treu commyn wele a-mong vs restoryd. and for bycawse the restitutyon hereof lyth chefely in the prouydence of god, and your hie wydom and pollicy, I haue now vsid this boldnes to present this rude commentary vnto your maiesty trusting therby to put your grace in remembrance and to mynistur some occatyon of the innuentyon of many other more conuenyent meanys of the restoryng of this commyn welle, then other my wyt or capacite [can] consyue or attayne, for I dowt not at all, but that the gudnes of him, who hath gynen your hienes lyght of jugment aboue the rest of princys now reyning in our days, by the reson whereof you haue vterly plukkyd vp the rote of all abuse, this vtward powar and intolerabull tyrauny of rome, wherwith the christyan natyon long hath byne oppresyd by pretext and colour of relygion, I dowt not, I say, but the same gudnes of god shall inspyre your most nobull harte with such lyght and knolege that to your heynes hit shall be, aftur so long vse and experiance had in this your reyne to see and perceue the most conuenyent mean of the vttur extyrpatyon of all other lyke abusyon. this hope and sure trust I haue wych hath so incorragid me that I haue not fayned to exibyte to your grace this rude commentary the wych I haue formyd in a dialoge and a famylar commynicatyon had betwyxt ij of your gracyes most true and fayfull seruastys and subiectys, of the wych the one ys depertyd to the seruice of him as I trust, to whome all christian hartys relygiously here serue in erth, Thomas Lupest of wych, if hit had pleaseid god, your grace schold haue had true and fayfull seruice, the other ys yet I trust in lyfe, Maister Raynold Pole, of whose virtue and gudnes, yf he coud haue seen that thing by his lernynge wych your most notabull clarkys in your reame and many other hath approuyd, your heynes schold haue had before this certayn, and sure experiance, of thes wych thing also yet I dow not vterly dyspeare, for I trust hit shalnot be long before he shall declare vnto your grace of his wysdome and Iugment playne and manystef arg[u]ment, and the mean tyme I shall most humbly besech your heynes that hit may please yow at your conuenyent leyser to obserue the commynicatyon be twyx his old frend Maister Lupest and him hereaftur comprysyd, frome the wych I wyth no longur¹ let your grace by this rude preface beseching your hienes what so euer hit be to except hit with your accustomyd humanyte much more regarding my wyll then my dede, wych ys and euer shall be to the vttermust of my powar but to serue your pryncely mayestes to your honowre and goddys glory.

¹ The words *frome the wych I wyll no* are repeated by mistake in MS.

§ 21. Extract from the *Jewel of Joy*, by Thomas Becon, referred to above, p. xlviii.

Trueth it is. For I my selfe know many townees and villages sore decayed, for yt where as in times past there wer in some town an hundred housholdes there remain not now thirty, in some fifty, ther are not now ten, yea (which is more to be lamented) I knowe townees so wholly decayed, that there is neyther stiake nor stone standyng as they vse to say.

Where many men had good lyuinges, and mayntained hospitality, able at times to helpe the kyng in his warres, and to susteyne other charges, able also to helpe their pore neighbournes, & vertuously to bring vp theyr children in Godly letters and good scyences, nowe sheepe and conies deououre altogether no man inhabiting the afore sayed places. Those beastes which were created of God for the

Psal. 49. [viii. 6, 7.] nouryshment of man doe nowe deououre man. The Script-

ture sayeth that God made both shepe and oxen wyth

all the beastes of the field subiecte vnto man, but now man is subiect

Beastes above men. vnto them. Where man was wonte to beare rule there

they now beare rule. Where man was wont to haue hys liuing, there they nowe onely lyua. Where man was wonte to inhabyte, ther they now reign and grease. And the cause of all thys

Gentlemen Shepmongers. wretchednesse and beggery in the common weale are the

greedy Gentylmen, whyche are shepmongers and grayzara.

Whyle they study for their owne priuate commoditie, the common weale is lyke to decay. Since they began to be shepe Maysters and feders of cattell we neyther had vyttayle nor cloth of any reasonable pryce. No meruayle, for these forstallars of the market, as they vse to saye haue gotten al thynges so into theyr handes, that the poore man muste eyther bye it at their pryce, or else miserably starue for hongar, and wretchedely dye for colde. For they are touched with no pity toward the poore. It is founde true in them that S. Paul

PM. 4. 13. [viii.] wrighteth. Al sake their own aduantage and not those

things which belong vnto Iesu Christ. They whiche

in tymes past wer wont to be fathers of the contri, are now pollers and pyllers of the contri. They which in times past wer wont to

be the defenders of the poore, are now become the destroiers of the same. They by whom the common weale sometime was preserved,

are now become the Caterpillers of the common weale, and suche as

same by their maners to haue made a solemne vow vtterly to subvert the common weale, and to procure y^e final destruction of the same.

They are insatiable woulfes. They know no measure. So they may

reigne, they care not who suffer pain. So they may abound, they care

not who fal to the grounde. So they may be enriched, they care

not who be empouerished. Thei ar right brothers of Cain, which had

rather alea his brother Abel, than he should haue any part with him

of worldly possessions. The wyse man sayeth the bread Gen. iii. 16.
Exodus xxviii. 31. of the nedys is the life of the pore, he y^t defraudeth him [31.] of it, is a manslare. Do not these ryche worldlynge defraude the pore man of his bread, whereby is vnderstand al things Bread what it
necessary for a mans lyfe, which through their insacieble
couetousnes sel al things at so hie price, and suffer townes so to
decay that the pore hath not what to eate nor yet where
to dwell ! What other are they than, but very mazalears ? Mark vii.

They abhorre the names of Monkes, Friers, Chanons, Nonnes, &c. but their goods they gredely gripe. And yet where the cloysters kept hospitality let out their fermes at a reasonable prycce, moryshed scholes, brought vp youth in good letters, they did none of all these thinges. They lyghtlye esteme, and in a maner contemne Priestes, parsons, vicares, Prebendaries, &c. yet their possessions they gladly embrase and niggardly retain. So that nowe they are become in effect although not in name, verye Monkes, Friers, Chanons, Priestes, Persons, Vicares, Prebendaries and at the last what not ? Rom. vii.

and yet how vainly those goods be spent, who seeth not ? Pro. xxx.

The state of England was neuer so miserable, as it is at this present. Good Lorde haue mercy upon vs and put in the harte of the king and of his counsell to redres these intolerable pestilences of the common weale, or els make hast to dissolve this wretched world by thy glorious comming vnto the iudgement : where thou shalt render to every man accordyng to hys dedes, least if we Pro. xxx. longe remayne in this to much wretchednesse, we be compelled throughe pouerty to attempt vnrighteous thinges, and forsware the name of our Lord God. (Becon, *Works*, 1564, Vol. II. fol. xvi. back —fol. xvii.)



APPENDIX.

EXTRACT FROM THE

Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise,

COMPOSED OF LATE IN MREATRE ROYALL
BY THE SYMPLE AND VNLEARNED

SIR WILLIAM FORREST, FREEISTE.

MS. REG. 17 D 3.

Of William Forrest, the author of the work from which the following extract is taken, we know but little. He tells us himself, in the Prologue to his *History of Joseph*, that he was "sometyme chapplayne to the noble Queene Marye." It is evident, as Warton says, that he "could accommodate his faith to the reigning powers;" for although he is believed to have been a retainer of Cardinal Wolsey, he did not hesitate, after the fall of the latter, to speak of him in terms hardly less strong than those of Skelton. During the reign of Edward VI. he wrote and dedicated to the Duke of Somerset a metrical translation of the Psalms, as well as the *Pleasaunt Poesye*, and in the last year of Mary's reign he dedicated to her his *History of Grisild the Second*, which he says himself he had written twenty years previously, but which he had judiciously suppressed during the reign of Edward VI.

Besides the *Pleasaunt Poesye*, Forrest was the author of the following works:—

A Life of the Blessed Virgin, and numerous short poems, preserved in MS. Harl. 1703.

A Metrical Version of the Psalms, referred to above, dated 1551
MS. REG. 17 A xxi.

"A true and most notable History of a right noble and famous
Lady produced in Spayne entitled the second Gresield, practised
STARKEY

not long out of this time in much part tragedous as delectable both to hearers and readers." This is a panegyric on Katharine of Arragon, whom the author compares to patient Grisild, and her husband to Earl Walter. The original MS. is in the Bodleian, being No. 2 of Ant. à Wood's MSS., and was edited for the Roxburgh Club in 1875 by the Rev. W. D. Macray.

The History of Joseph, dedicated to the Duke of Norfolk, and finished 11th April 1569. MS. Reg. 18 C xiii., and Univ. Coll., Oxford, No. 88.

A full account of these works, as well as all the particulars of Forrest's life known to us, will be found in the Introduction to Mr Macray's *History of Grisild the Second*.

The *Pleasant Poesye of Princelye Practise* professes to be a translation from a work composed by Aristotle for the use of his pupil Alexander the Great:—

"This symple booke whiche yee in hande nowe haue,
I haue comprised in sorte as yee see,
firste deuised by Aristotele graue
Vnto kinge Alexandres maiestee" [i.f. 3, back].

In reality the work is a version of the treatise written by Aegidius Romanus towards the close of the 13th century, with the title *De Reginis Principum*, which itself is a translation or rather paraphrase of the *Secreta Secretorum*, a spurious compilation attributed to Aristotle. (See Warton, ed. Hazlitt, III. pp. 19, 20.)

The book opens with a "prologue vnto the kinges maiestie Edwards the Sexte, descriuinge partelie y* frute of this notable warke whiche heere dothe ensue." The second chapter is a "notable description what a kinge is, And what signification in his regales, as Anoyntinge, Swoordes, bawle, sceptre, crowne, and Throne dothe reste." This is succeeded by several chapters on the duty of a king towards God, and at leaf 28 the author treats of "the maner and solacyngre moste conuenyent for a kynge, bothe at table, in the feeldis, and other places, at tymes suche as hee shall thinke pleasinge too his mynde to Recreat his sprytis :" thus he recommends—

"Dynner onys ended rise not vpp lightalye,
haue then some noyse of musycall sownde,
as harpe, vyall, lute or some symphonye ;
Virgynalls, rybecke, withe Taberlet rownde,
Semblyblye handale in their monochorde" [i.f. 29, b.].

or else—

“Att tables, chesse, or cardis awhile your selfe repose.”

Chapter 13 shows “howe a kynge ought too marrye, what wise and circuaspects weytes hee shall vse yn chusyng his Ladye, and soueraigne spouses: And howe hee shall in moste amysable wyse chearische, looue, and make of her.”

“A kynge godde forbeade too bee nuefangleds,
his wief taxchaunge for his lustis dalyaunce;
thearfore make searche if shee bee entangleds.”

“Too marye for loone” he thinks “more decent” than “too matche for riches or Realms domynyon.”

“A younge Damoysell her mynde too let fall
Vpon an olde jaade, that is his luste paste;
Or a freesche youngelinge vppon an olde wiche,
too herke thearunto, it makethe my backe iche” [l. 40].

Directions for the proper treatment of ambassadors, the administration of justice, the education of the king's children, and a strict inquiry into the misery of the poor follow, and are succeeded by the passage here reprinted.

Chapter 22 shows “Howe a kyng owght too bee muche desyrowse too knowe thopynion of his commons towardis hym by thexploration of some secreat seruant whome hee doithe beste credite,” —a suggestion in fact for the establishment of political spies.

“Vayne clatteringe ofte riſeſthe men emonge,
And owte of doubtſe their tunges ſhall walke and chatt,”

and therefore

“Some secreat Seruaunte let hym owte espye,
that hath Discretion and pregnante wytt:
to walke abroade in sorte moſte secreatlye,
in Commonne companyes to tawlike and sytt:
And what he hecarethe for to commende ytt.
other dispayſe, to this ende and effecte
that hee maye ſo walke withoute all ſuspecte” [l. 74].

Although we cannot say much for the poetry of the book, yet it is noticeable for some of the suggestions made in it—suggestions which have since been carried into effect, and become part of our system of domestic government. Such, for instance, are the author's proposals for compulsory education, free to those unable to pay the

requisite fees ; and for the appointment of an "overscer or controller," corresponding to our School-Board officer. Again, we have his suggestion for a general valuation of all land by government commissioners, such valuation to form the basis on which rents, rates, &c. should be calculated.

Passing by the author's complaints of the oppression of the poor, I would point out his appeal for true and just dealing on the part of cloth manufacturers, which comes home to us with especial force at the present time, when we hear so many complaints as to the "dressing," the "shoddy," and other adulterations practised in England.

The Royal MS. 17 D 3 is a small folio parchment volume of 78 leaves, besides several which are blank, the work being, as shown by the index, incomplete. In the "table conteynynge the title of all and singulare the Chapiters in this present booke," which begins on leaf 4, 37 chapters are designated, and we are further told that "at the ende of this warke shall ensue certaine narrations / exemplifiinge sundry of the maters of the aforesaide tyltes, to be fownde by the fygures at thende of the saide tyltes / or their chapiters."

There are, however, only 24 chapters in the MS., nor does it appear that ever there existed any more.

The book is presented in the first instance to the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, in order that it may have his approval previous to its being offered to the king. The dedication is as follows :—

To the moste worthie and famouse Prince Edward, Duke of Somerset, Earle of Herteforde, Vicount Beaucham, Lorde Seymour, Vnkle vnto oure moste dreade soueraigne lord, kinge Edward the Sexthe, Protectour also ouer his moste royll person, Realmes and Dominions, bee honour, healthe, and Hyghe prosperite, Withe (after this lief) aeternall foelicite, So wiishethis his daylie Oratour sir William forreste, preeiste" [leaf 2].

Following this is a short address of 16 stanzas to the duke.

On leaf 7, back, is a drawing representing the author presenting his work to Edward VI., who is seated, crowned, on his throne. Forrest himself is represented as a young man in a priest's gown, and with long flowing hair not tonsured.

On leaf 8 follow the title and dedication of the book as under:—

HERE ensuithe A notable warke / called the pleasaunt poesye of
princelie practise composed of late in meatre roayal by the sympyle
and vnlearned / sir William forrest preiste, muche parte collecte
owte of A booke entituled The gouernaunce of noblemen, which
booke the wise philosopher Aristotele / wrote too his discyple
Alexandre / the great and mightie Conqueroura.

1548.

To the moste mightie and puissaunte Prynce Edwarde the Sexthe,
kyng of Engelande / Fraunce / and Irelande, Defendour of the faithe
And heere in earthe (vndres christe) the supreme heade of bothe
Churches / Engelande / and Irelande, bee regne in state moste fortu-
nate : with thuppren hande ouer his enemies alweyes / thorowe his
syde / by whome all kynges heere dothe governe.

William Forrest.

SUMMARY OF THE EXTRACT.

After a short disquisition on the origin of civilization and monarchies, he (lxxxvii/14)¹ refers to the means adopted by the rich to keep up prices, viz., by buying up grain of all sorts, and only allowing it to find its way into the market by driblets ; he (lxxxviii/16) reminds the king that the great support of the throne is the "more some," and protests (lxxxviii/18) against foreigners becoming rich at the expense of Englishmen, and concludes the chapter (lxxxix/21) by complaints as to the ruinous fines inflicted by landlords on their tenants.

The next chapter opens with a protest against idleness, the "patrones of all maner myschief" (xcii/5) ; he suggests (xcii/8) the issuing of a proclamation appointing the stocks or flogging as the punishment of idlers, and those who "at ale howse sitt, at mack or at mall, tables, or dyce, or that cards men call." Children he thinks should be sent to school at the age of *four* (xcii/12), and as a labouring man may not be able to pay for his children's schooling, he would have free schools in every town (xcii/13) ; and an overseer to look up idlers and children (xciii/17), who is to have £3 or £4 a year, and must be an honest townsmen (xciii/19), and be appointed for one year on probation (xciii/19). Leaving this subject, he turns to wool,

¹ The numbers in brackets refer to the pages and stanzas ; thus lxxxvii/14 means p. lxxxvii stanza 14.

that great commodity for which come many "suetours" (xciv/21), and for which Englishmen have to pay sixfold price through allowing it to be exported in the raw state by "Foryners and Turks" (xciv/22). After telling us the rate of wages, 1*d.* to 2*d.* a day (xcv/26), he complains of the great rise in prices (xcv/27), in rents (xcv/29) and in meat (xcv/30). Englishmen, he says, can't live on roots and herbs, or "such beggerye baggage;" they must have meat, "after their olde vsage" (xcv*/33).

In the next chapter he reverts to wool, which should not be exported raw (xcvi/4), but made up in England; the cloth to be well shrunk and dressed (xcvi*/6); all faulty cloth to be retained for use at home, lest foreigners should "fynde vs amysse;" for, as he says, "what the Salysman is the ware ofte dothe teache" (xcvi*/6). No wool to be sold at less than ten nor at more than fifteen shillings a tod (xcvii/11).

Leaving wool, he returns to the "raging rentis," which should be restored to their former rate by commissioners, who should fix the valuation of each farm (xcvii/14); reminds the king that the yeomen are the backbone and glory of England (xcvii*/16); declares that bad landlords go straight to hell (xcvii*/19), for they show favour (xcvii*/21), and take away the closes attached to cottages, and yet charge the same rent (xcviii/22). He then complains of the large holdings and sheep-farms (xcviii/25), and of the nobles meddling in trade, "chopping and changing as market men dothe" (xcviii*/30), and calls on the king to devise some improvement in the condition of the labouring classes, who would be encouraged to work more if their wages were higher (xcix*/39), and who at the lowest should have six or eight pence a day (xcix*/40); they would then be able to marry, and by so doing repeople the towns now deserted and ruined.

¶ Howe a kynge speciallye ought tattende and prouyde
for a Commone Wealthe, and too his powre : too
abolische vtrelye all kynde of meanys that work-
ethe anyeannoyaunce or hynderaunce vnto the same,
Caput decimum octauum,

leaf 54.

[1]
¶ If men shoule gather and perpende in mynde,
why kinges and rulers firste ordeyned weare :
sithe wee are all come of wone stirpe or kynde :
this hathe heretofore bene scanned manywheare. 4
As scarcitee of thinges causethe dearthe tappeare,
so, in fewe, at this worldis erection
thinges weare not brought too their due perfection. 7

leaf 54, back.
Monarchies and
offices did not
exist in the earli-
est times.

[2]
By prces as the same can springe and growe,
and men of experiance gathered the fruyte :
Wone then labored another touerthrowe :
thorowe highe preamynence too beare the bruyte. 11
As suche prospered in their saide pursuyte
at laste it fell by wyse perswasyon
men too beare rule and hause domynation. 14

but grew up by
degrees.

[3]
Whoe, by wisedome and magnanymytee,
ordered their weytes so wondrefull too tell,
vndre the forme of highe noblytee :
vntoo the peoples contentation so well :
that they them healde as woorthieste of the bell,
in peace and warr afore them too take place :
and they tassiste them in all maner case. 18
21

At first the Rulers
were the worthiest
in the state.

[4]
When thus (too rule) men had the State in hande,
and had woone people at their commaundement :
they caste all meanys in State suche Still too Stande :
as bettre too rule then be obeydant, 25
aduoydinge althinges of daungres immynent.
by suche behauyour of highe woorthynes.
that more and more their fauour dyd encres. 28

[5]
In all their Studye and wise compasyng,
their priuate wealthe they dyd postponerat :
the Commune commoditie firste preferrynge,
of thoise that they had too them made subiugate, 32

leaf 55.
and looked after
the public good
rather than their
own advantage.

vndre higheste weies of looue affectionate :
as if thynges Stoode in indifferancye
their ayde inclyned too the more partye.

35

[6]

Of wone that thus can fashion his affeires,
as fame the same in due kynde can dylate :
another tooke light too bee of his heires :
in suyng the Steppes of such men approuate, 39
too whome then was geven the brute of estate :
as worshippe, honour and highe nobylitee :
thus woorthye woorkinge sett men firste in degree. 42

[7]

Laws and Polit-
cal Institutions
were introduced.

As ferdre in reigne grue their contynuaunce,
theye caste and purveyed for the weale publyke :
by moste honeste meanys of lawes ordynauce :
sought owte wondrealye by witt polytike, 46
In Europe, Asya, and also Affryke.
the barbarouse behauour beastelye and nought :
too Cyuyle maners at the firste was thus brought. 49

[8]

Sythen contynuynge in wondrefull wise,
withe muche furthereaunce too many a Region :
wheare noble princis moste excellent precise
hathe on them weytinge many a legion, 53
As yee (of the highest) accomptyd for wone,
whois wise endeuer attendethe noles
in semblable sorte too doo your busynes. 56

[9]

leaf 55, back.
The duty of
Princes is to put
down all Vice

Not (as too saye) of free liberalitee.
too chuse in the same whither yee will or not :
but bownden by Office of Principalitee :
nothings shoulde els more a princis honour blot, 60
what knyttethe too the contrarye too loose the knot.
and what goethe loose in hynderinge the same
too see a restreynte : els are yee too blame. 63

10]

by severe punish-
ment, and to
promote Virtue.

Off meanys too speake concernyng the saide case.
firste, is too bee had in consyderation :
(by Strete punyschinge vice in euerye place :)
that Vertue maye bee hadde in digne estymation. 67
when syme so is hadde in detestation,
that whiche seemed (by custome) afore light
shalbee seene odyouse in euerye manny's sigh. 70

[11]

Virtue thus mayntenyd and Vice depressed :
then are the people like the Gardeyne plot,
that is depured, leaualyd, and dressed :
too sowe or sett theare what thowner will allot, 74
As your wisedome and Counseile dothe well wote,
for the Commune wealthes beste preseruation :
nowe maye yee put in exercitacion. 77

In this way will
the people best be
advantaged.

[12]

See, and well pondre in all your dooinges,
whiche thearunto dothe any meane conclude :
that wone pryuaye persone in vse of thinges :
dothe not annoye or harme a multytude, 81
wone, withe the lyuynges of fyue too bee endude :
of twentie or threscore, eache wise man maye saye,
the publike weale holdethe not theare the right waye, 84

Private advantage
must not operate
against the public
weal.

[13]

Or if yee schall of affabylytee
vnto some wone suche Libertie graunte
tenparke or enclose for his Commoditee :
that, the hynderaunce of moe myght waraunte ; 88
or any suche weyes taccustome or haunte :
by byinge or sellynge too others hynderaunce :
no suche thinge suffrethe a Cyuyle ordynaunce. 91

leaf 56.
either in inclosing
of commons or in
trade.

[14]

In tyme of plentie the riche too vpp mucker¹
Corne, Grayne, or Chafre hopinge vppon dearthe :
for his pryuaye wealth so daylye too hucker :² 93
this criethe for vengeance too heauyn from the earthe :
Leste it shoulde happen it many wone fearthe,
ffor suche solayne snydges³ caste reformation
by forfeiture too the poores sustentation. 98

The rich should
not be allowed to
hoard up grain, &c
in order to raise
prices—

[15]

The poore for neade is dreeyn too make sale.
the Riche reserueth and muckerthe vpp more :
by whiche risethe this commune Prouerbe tale :
Some muste bee Sauers, Store is no sore ; 102
so is it indeade if the Riche therfore
wolde woorke after this neighbourlye deuyse :
too helpe the poore for a resonable pryce. 105

a cause of great
distress.

¹ Heape up. ² Higgle, trade. ³ Miserly persons.

[16]

A kingdom is not supported by a few, but by the many.

A kyngis honour, discretlye too aduerte,
is not vpsteyed, mayntened, and fortifed
by wone, twoe, or thre, or the fewer parte:
but by the more some it hatha euer bene tried. 109
Then ought a kyng for his Commons prouyd,
that wone clubbed cobbe¹ shoule not so encroche 111
an hundred mennys lyuynges: it weare greate reproche.

[17]

leaf 54, back.
and therefore the few must not be
benefited at the expense of the many:

Your realmys Commoditye (in what it dothe consiste,)
for twoe or thre too haue the specyall trade,
the publike weale is sore in that place myste,
and goethe too decaye, as flowres doth fall and fade. 116
In this eache Potentate by witt muste wade,
bothe by hym selfe and his wise Counseil:
that prynate commoditee not so maye preuale. 119

[18]

nor foreigners enriched to the loss of Englishmen.

If merchauntes that be too yow but Straungers,
(aloughue your Custome by them bee copiouse)
shoule bee enriched and made great geyners:
your owne hynderyd, and made indigeouse: 123
this weare a mattier (in maner) litigouse,
too make them murmure and their harte withdrawe
from the due obseruation of the Lawe. 126

[19]

Our own countrymen should be looked after before strangers.

Chieflye your owne yee ought too respects:
for yee of them in your neade may bee bolde:
wheare Straungers passethe not your fauour to reiecke,
or in your right title will oughtes with the yow holde. 130
Custome vnoumlye: is too bee controlde.
wheare prynate woorkinge shall shewe euydent:
too a Commontie too doo detryment. 133

[20]

Tenants should have security of tenure.

Heere too wryte all too this mattier meanyngs
I cannot compase or caste thuttermuste:
but ferdre I shall yeast tuche this wone thinge:
as shalbee pleasinge too your grace I truste. 137
Let not of yours wone another owte thruste
furthe of his lyuyng, his Lease, or his holde:
Res publica thearat her harte wexithe colde. 140

¹ Wealthy, miserly person.

[21]

A pooreman whiche hathe bothe children & wief,
whoe (with his parentes) vppon a poore Cotte
hathe theare manured ¹ manye a manrys Lief,
and trulye payed bothe rent, scotte, and lotte : 144
A Couetous Lorde whoe Conscience hathe notte,
by rent enhauncynge or for more large fyne,
suche wone too caste owte : it goethe oute of lyne. 147

leaf 57.
and not be liable
to pay heavy fines
for their leases.

[22]

This too bee seene too : the Publike weale crieth :
of reformation it sittethe your Office :
manye iniuryes too the poore pliethe,
done by the bygger without all Justice. 151
As the great fowle the small dothe surprise,
deuour and eate vpp all flesche too the bone :
so farethe the riche if they bee let alone. 154

A king shold see
that the weak are
not oppressed by
the strong.

[23]

That Kyngs (bee sure) can neauer bee poore :
wheare as his Commons lynethe welthelye.
if they bee not able to keepe open doore ;
it muste with hym then but small multyple ; 158
ffor kynges of their Commons sumtyme muste ayde trye.
The more therfore the publike weale dothe afflows ; 160
the more is their wealth : this reason prouethe nowe.

for where the
people are rich
a king can never
be poor :

[24]

And true it is, the highe Opficer
sendethe not his gifte^s too wone pertycularlye :
but that a multytude wone with the other,
the same shoulde partycypete mutuallye. 165
Sith hee althinges heare dothe make too multyple
too themde aforesaide, O kyng, of God electe,
see then the same stonde in her full effecte. 168

neither did God
send His gifts for a
few, but for all.

¹ Laboured with his hands, cultivated.

leaf 57, back.

Howe a kynge ought too deteste ydlenes the moother of all myschief and too ordayne meanys too haue his subiectis euermore occupied in honeste exercises, to the maytenaunce of theire owne luynges and furtheraunce of the common weale, that the ydle shall not devouer that which ye diligent doth truly get by the labour of their sweate. *Caput. 19.*

[1]

Of Idleness, that
hides serpent,

[1] ESte kinges & gouernours that heere dothe rule myght this neglecte, whiche is expedient, wee shall make remembraunce in this schedule of ydlenes, that hyeouse serpent, 172 whoe, loightringe like a peasaunt pestilant, Lurkethe in corners vnoccupied : too doo anye goode : lothe too bee espiede. 175

[2]

which devoure the
fruit of honest
labour :

This beastelye bodye, this mawltische¹ matrone, devourees of the true laborers frute : of nature desirethe too bee let alone : as too contynue in her maners brute. 179 Too sleepe, eate, and drinke, suche is her sute, and what els longeth too Lustis dalyaunce, she is readye too shewe herr furtheraunce. 182

[3]

turning day into
night and night
into day.

The daye in too the nyght shee can conuerte : the nyght into daye for dalyaunce sake. too pleye is shee preste, woorke is a deserte : too hiere therof tawlike herr harte will not wake. 186 Whoe, too herr compenyne shee maye onys take, for seauyn yearys after I dare the truthe mooue ; the woorser husbonde hee shall surelye prooue. 189

[4]

leaf 58.
Where Idleness
exists there can be
no profit.

Or bee it woman, in like maner wise, no profite risethe wheare shee dothe frequent : but propagation of vice owte of vice : the prooife shall shewe practice mooste euydent, 193 Let loyterers lyue as they are content and they shall plucke too their societes feloshippe that neauer will after goode bee. 196

¹ Gluttonous.

[5]

Yowthe, brought vpp ydelye in games and pastyme.
 not taistinge the trade of honeste busynes :
 As vice detestethe vnto vertue too clyme :
 so farethe with the all that louethe ydlenes ; 200
 of all maner myschief shee is Patrone.
 againte whome the heauyns dothe openlie exclame :
 by plague too punysche this ydlenes by name. 203

Young persons
 brought up in
 idleness will
 never apply
 themselves to
 honest labour.

[6]

What kynge is hee in this worlde so greate,
 or Potentate els fewe or manye :
 what Clarke also in his studyous seate :
 or whoe that hathe too gouernaunce anye, 207
 but moste their tyme liste not too dallye
 withe ydlenes heere mentioned ?
 them of their mattiers they myght bee euyl sped. 210

Kings and all in
 authority have no
 time for idleness ;

[7]

Kynges can no les but compace searche and caste ;
 how too prouyde for the publike weale ;
 the same too contynue in State Stedfaste :
 as too eache partie true Justice too deale. 214
 Oother Magistrates hauynge like zeale.
 vnto their Offices dwe admynistracion :
 shoulde loyterers lyue then in their ydle fashion ? 217

then why should
 lazy vagabonds be
 allowed?

[8]

For reformation of suche nowghtye packes
 bee it proclaimed vnto their earys all :
 that whoe endeuorethe any suche knackes :
 at ale howse too sitt at mack or at mall,
 tables, or dyce, or that Cardis men call.
 or what oother game owte of season dwe :
 let them bee punysched without all rescue. 224

law Es, back.
 Frequenting of
 ale-houses and
 gambling should
 be severely
 punished.

[9]

Owte of season in this sorte too bee take,
 when dayes of labour are presently come :
 eache man too his Arte his voyage too take
 withe willinge harte, not too glomer or glome,¹ 228
 It is Cyuyle iustice and no thraldome.
 for as the byrde is heere ordeyned too fies :
 so is man too woorke olde writinges tellethe mee. 231

for man's lot is to
 labour.

¹ Sulk or look gloomy.

[10]

Kings should
evert themselves
to abolish idle-
ness, which only
ends in poverty.

Trulye I wolde in all that mee liethe,
wright all I cowde this vice tabolische,
for ydlenes all vertue despisethe,
wheare honeste exercise the lief dothe polische 235
theairfor all kynges I doo admonysche
heereunto too geue goode aduertence :
for nougates it breedithe but wretched indigence. 238

[11]

The young should
all be taught some
handwerk.

As in honeste Artis wee wolde haue occupied :
eaueryman after his Vocation :
so wolde wee haue Youthe too Vertue applied,
that are not readye for occupation, 242
of hande crafte too use thadmynistration ;
infantes I mean Vndre Eight yearis of age :
their tyme I wolde thus too bee put in Vseage, 245

[12]

leaf 10.
Children should
be put to school
at four years of
age.

At fowre yearis olde let suche too scoole bee sett,
too gather and lerne some literature :
bye whiche they maye after knowe their due dett
too hym that is Authour of eache creature, 249
bye readinge (in bookee) his will and pleasure ;
for whoe so listethe to remembraunce call,
too woorke in that age their powre is but small. 252

[13]

Schools to be free
to any who can-
not pay the fees.

Leste some, perhaps, at this myght thus obiecte,
The pooreman his childe cannot so prefer :
bycause he hath not substaunce in effecte
for so longe season to fynde his scoler, 256
as (for his scoolinge) too paye his Maister ;
to whiche I answere, it muste prouyded bee :
in eauerye towne the Scoole too go free. 259

[14]

The clergy to
teach in the
schools,

Suche townes whiche hath a Curate to bee ment
dueties too persolue that bee spirituall :
whome, too bee ydle weare inconuenient,
beyonde all oother, eauen the wurste of all, 263
theairfore, to teache it dothe their office fall,
and bringe vpp yowthe to saye, to singe, or write :
that God too serue, they after maye delite. 266

[15]

and to receive
suitable salary
for so doing.

Suche honeste Stipende towardis hym to remayne,
that for his paynes hee nothinge scholde expecte :

for so longe tyme as afore dothe contayne.
 mee thynkethe this sowndethe too goode effecte, 270
 If, vnto Office they after bee electe,
 when reade they can and their vulgare speache knowe,
 their Princis pleasure they maye bettre followe. 273

[16]

When they hathe knowledge indifferently so,
 too oother Artis then maye theye bee preferde :
 and not loyteringe ydlye too go :
 thorowe whiche the publike weale is ofte merde :¹ 277
 Thearefore, this lesson I wolde to bee herde,
 in Townes, (goode ordre too schyne and florische :)
 this obseruation I wolde gladlye wische. 280

leaf 89, back.
 Children, after
 they have left
 school, not to be
 allowed to idle
 about,

[17]

An Ouerseer, Controwler to bee calde,
 to see vnoccupied none to remayne :
 vnles they bee wtih the sicknesaes appalde,
 or by debilitie of Age overlayne. 284
 If case theare bee too punysche them by payne
 of Stockes or scowringes whiche suche maye compell
 to earne their fooade els to haue no morsell. 287

on pain of being
 placed in the
 stocks.

[18]

And the saide Officer to haue by ffe
 owte of the towne Coafer thre or fowre pownde :
 that for suche Stipende the rather maye hee
 to theexecution thearof bee bownde. 291
 If in Thoffice hee negligent bee fownde,
 to bee depryued wtih reproache and shame :
 and neauer againe too entren the same. 294

An officer to be
 appointed to look
 after young
 persons,

[19]

In theelection of suche Ouerseer,
 this owght (and muste) firste consydrede bee :
 that hee bee knowne an honeste towne-beer,
 and hathe a zeale too Cyuile equytee, 298
 Too cawse hym earnestlie thearto too see :
 but wone yeares space let hym thearin endure
 excepte hee bee fownde moste fitte for the cure. 301

who must be a
 townsmen of good
 character.

[20]

True it is no luyynge man this daye
 can presentlie for the publike weale frame
 so syncerelie the vtremuste too says,
 that maye bee breache or staye too the same, 305

leaf 89.
 Fresh regulations
 to be made as
 occasion may
 require,

¹ Marred, damaged.

inviolable too byde withoute blame :
but, as tym wearithe (mannys maners vued)
so muste Custome and lawe bee renued.

308

[21]

and as may best
surt the condition
of the people.

The soyle and people consydered also,
That will not serue heere that seruith elswhere :
some hathe Commoditeis, some lesse, some mo ; 311
which dothe the Chargis of the publike weale beare,
bye Merchaundise conveyde heere and theare,
As, heere in Englande wone speciall haue wee : 314
Woolle, for whiche manye greate suetours hither bee.

[22]

Foreigners resp.
all the profit from
wool.

Off whiche to saye, as my fancye dothe leade,
(the Judgementis of bettre not offendyd)
I wolde it weare duelie consyderede :
howe fforyners by Woolle are Assendyd, 319
and owre weale publike little amendyd,
for, by owre Woolle of Christians and Turke 321
thowsandis thowsandis hatha daylie handye wurke.

[23]

while Englishmen
have to buy it
back at sixfold
price.

And wee the same of them agayne to bye,
sixefoldre doble price moare then of them had wee :
Oh ! some witt politike shewe reason whye
myght not the same heere so perfected bee, 326
wee, to profite by owre owne Commoditeis !
If honeste meanys myght bee thearto espied :
how sholde owre Commons then bee occu[p]yed ; 329

[24]

leaf 60, back.
The sight of so
many beggars and
vagrants

So manye Beggers sholde not reigne as reigne ;
so manye Headye sholde not for conforte crye ;
so manye Rouers sholde not vse the pleyne ;
so manye sholde not then lyue ydelye, 333
A few to profyte, to hynderaunce of manye ;
As Thowsandis to lacke and Twentie to abownde,
Oh, howe it geauethe a myserable sownde !

ought to induce
the rich to try to
improve the
condition of the
poor.

Moste worthie it is A kynge to excell,
in honowre, richesse, and glorye decorate :
Lordys (in degré) in woorthynes to dwell,
wiþe Gentyls also as sitteþe their estate : 340
and they to the meane to communycate,
that theye maye lyue boþe Childrene and wife :
and them not to streyne by meanys excessife. 343

[26]

The Pooreman to toyle for twoe pence the Daye,
 some while thre haufte pense, or els a penye :
 hauyng wief childdrene and howse rent to paye :
 meate clothe and fewell with the same to bye,
 and muche oother thinges that bee necessarye,
 wiþe manye a hungrye meale susteynyng :
 Alas ! makethe not this a doolefull compleynyng ! 350

How can a poor
 man keep his
 family and pay
 his rent on two-
 pence a day ?

347

[27]

The worlde is chaunged from that it hathe beene,
 not to the bettre but to the warse farre :
 more for a penye wee haue before scene
 then nowe for fowre penye, whoe liste to compare. 354
 This sueth the game called makinge or marre.
 Vnto the Riche it makethe a great deale,
 but muche it marrethe to the Commune weale. 357

And now prices
 have risen four-
 fold.

[28]

Too reyse his Rent alas ! it neadethe not,
 or fyne texacte for teahure of the same
 fowrefolde dooble, it is a shrewde blot :
 to the greate hynderaunce of some mennys name, 361
 I knowe this to bee true els ware I to blame,
 to mooue this mateir in this present booke :
 at whiche **Respublica** lookethe a-crooke. 364

leaf 61.
 and landlords
 demand fourfold
 rents and fines

[29]

A Rent to reyse from twentie to fiftie,
 of Powndis (I meane,) or shealingis whither :
 ffynnyng for the same vreasonablye,
 sixe tymes the Rent ; adde this togither,
 muste not the same great Dearthe bringe hither ? 368
 for if the ffermoure paye fowrefolde dooble Rent,
 he muste his ware neadys sell after that stent. 371

so that the farmer
 has to raise his
 prices in propor-
 tion.

[30]

So for that Oxe, whiche hath beene the like sold
 for ffortie shealingis, nowe takethe hee fyue powndis :
 yea, seauyn² is more, I haue herde it so tolde.
 hee cannot els lyue so deare is his grownde, 375
 Sheepe, thoughte they neauer so plentie abownde,
 suche price they beare, whiche shame is to here tell,
 that scace the pooreman can bye a morsell.¹ 378

Beef and mutton
 too are so dear
 that a poor man
 cannot afford a
 morsel.

¹ " Howe ioyne they Lordeahyp to Lordeahyppe, manner to
 maner, ferme to ferme, land to lande, pasture to pasture,
 house to house, and house for a vantage ! Howe do the rygh

[31]

The smallest bit
of beef or mutton
now costs four-
pence.

Twoe pense (in Beeif) hee cannot haue serued,
other in Mutton, the price is so hye :
vndre a groate hee can haue none kerued :
so goethe hee and his to bedde hungrylye, 382
and risethe agayne withe bellies emptie ;
whiche turnethe to tawnye their white englisch skyn,
like to the swarthie coelored Ffawndrekyn. 385

[32]

leaf 61, back.
Want of animal
food weakens
Englishmen.

Wheare they weare valiaunt, stronge, sturdy, & stowte,
to shoothe, to wrastle, to dooe anye mannys feate,
to matche all natyons dwellinge heere abowte,
as hiterto manlye they holde the chief seate ; 389
if they bee pinched and weyned from meate,
I wisse, O kynge, they in penurye thus ponde
shall not bee able thye Royalme to defende. 392

[33]

who can't live on
roots or any such
beggarly rabbit.

Owre Englische nature cannot lyue by Rocoatis,
by water, herbyas or suche beggerye baggage,
that maye well serue for vile owtelandische Cooatis :
geeue Englische men meate after their olde vsage, 396
Beeif, Mutton, Veale, to cheare their courage ;
and then I dare to this byll sett my hande :
they shall defende this owre noble Englande. 399

shepe mongers. men, and specially suche as be shepemongers
opprese the kynges lyge people by denourynge
theyr commune pastures wyth theyr shepe, so that the poore
people, are not able to kepe a cowe for the comforte of them
and of theyr poore famylye, but are lyke to starue and peryshe
for honger, yf there be not prouisyon made shortly ! What
shepe ground scapeth these caterpillers of the commune weale ?
Howe swarne they wthy aboundinge of flockes of shepe ? and
yet when was wool euer so dere, or mutton of so great price ?
If these shepemongers go forthe as they begyn, the people shall
both miserably dye for colde, and wretchedly peryshe for
honger. For these gredy woulues and comberous cormerauntes,
wyll ethir sell theyr woll and theyr shepe at theyr owne prycse
or els they wyll sell none.

" Oh what a diuersytye is thys in the sale of wolle, a ston
of woll somtyme to be soldie at viii groats and now for viii s !
And so lykewyse of the shepe. God haue mercy on vs. If
the kyng hys maiestye, wthy hys most honourable councell
do not prouyde for the redresse of these thynges, God hymselfe
wyll surely se a remedye, as he sayeth by the
Psal. xi. [3]. Psalmographe 'for the wretchednes of the nedye
and the bewaylynghe of the pore esen nowe wyll I ryse, sayeth
the Lorde.' — Thomas Becon, *The Jewel of Joy*, 154— ;
Works, ed. 1564, Vol. II. fol. xv.

[A space left here for a heading to the chapter.]

[1]

The Tytle heere nowe whearoon wee entreate,
bicawse it dothe suche weightynes contayne :
A publike Weale, whiche is a matter greate :
Wee shall deuyde it into lessons twayne, 403
declaringe as serueth my symple brayne,
howe, thorowe God and yowe his Mynyster,
thinges owte of frame maye bee brought in order. 406

How things out of
frame may be
remedied.

[2]

If that I heere speake bee to no purpose,
perdon I haue asakte for my symplenes : 408
If it maye serue withoute coment or glose :
moste happelie then seruith this busynes, 410
Eache mannys writingis dothe not althinges redresse,
accordinge as his truelinge dothe tell :
thoughe this like so : yeat woldे I althinges well. 413

leaf 62.

[3]

Too saye howe ydlenesse maye bee expellyd,
and this owre Royalme enriched by the same,
somewhat thearto all-readye is tellyd :
for the reasydue wee shall nowe heere frame. 417
Woolle is the thinge wee will steye on, by name,
thoughe oother thinges moe geauithe assistance : 419
yeat Woolle (for this tyme) shall haue preamynence.

Wool is the chief
support of
Englishmen.

[4]

The Woolle that Steplelers dothe gather and packe,
owte of this Royalme to Cowntreys forayne :
bee it reuoked and steyed abacke,
that owre Cloathiers the same maye retayne, 424
all kynde of woorkefolkes heere to ordayne,
vpon the same to exercise their feate :
by tuckyng, cardinge, spynnyng, and to beata. 427

It should not be
allowed to be
exported raw.

[5]

Weauynge, fullinge, withe Dyinge (if theye liste)
and what sorte els to Cloathinge dothe belonge :
by suche true handelinge that nothinge bee myste, 430
whiche myght chalenge their woorkinge to bee wronge ;
that whearsoeuer they shall come emonge,
thorowe Christendome or heathenes grownde : 439
no fawte theare bee in the Woorkemanshippe fownde.

but worked up in
England.

[6]

leaf 62, back.
There should be
no false dealing in
manufacture of
cloth.

Shrynked befoare and perfected at full,
Gaged and sealed iustalye as it is :
if it bee fawtie in woorkinga or in wooll,
owre foalkes to weare them, I gree beste to thin, 438
rather than straungers sholde fynde vs amysse,
for owre false dealinge owre Cowntrey tappeache :
what the Salsy-man is the ware ofte dothe teache. 441

[7]

Every town and
village should
have its cloth
factory.

No Towne in Englande, Village, or Burrowe,
but thus withe Cloathings to bee occupied :
thoughe not in eache place cloathings cleane throwe :
but as the Towne is, their parte so applied ; 445
Heere Spynnars, heere weyuers, theare cloathes to be
died,
withe fullers and shearers as bee thought beste :
as the Cloathier maye haue his Cloathe dreste. 448

[8]

The cloth to be
sold to English
dealers.

Wher they haue groased vnto a some,
of scoarys or hundredis as they appoynte shall :
owre Englische Merchauntes by custome to come,
and them receaue to ouer withe all ; 452
or, bee they fechtes bye greement speciall,
by foraynes Merchauntes as they haue agreeed :
Moneye receaued ; god geeue them goode spedde. 455

[9]

A fair export duty
to be levied on
cloth.

Heere is not meanted the kinges maiestee
his Custome to lease or thearof wone Joate
that heeretofore accustomed hath bee :
but hee to haue still the vtremuste groate ; 459
Befoare they hense passe by Shippinge a-floate.
the Cloathes knowne what of, a Packs dothe come ;
and thearto accordyng to paye Custome. 462

[10]

leaf 62.

Withe all other dueties in eauerlye place,
both vnto his grace and oother also :
as of conuenyence sittithe the case :
wee will by no meanys theare againste go. 466
but heere this peece wee shall adde nowe vnto,
whiche withe Conscience is muche agreeable,
That Woolle maye bee at a price reasonable. 469

[11]

Wool to be sold
at from ten to

The leaste price to bee (the Todde accountinge)
not vndre Ten shelinges (beeing no refuse) :

The beste fflyuetene sheadinges not surmowntinge : fifteen shillings a tod. 473

Theise pricis to lymyte let noman muse,
it hath beene so seene att within twentie yearis : 475
and so maye agayne withe helpe of owre hedde pearis.

[12]

But heere liethe a mateir muche Difficulte,
whiche greatlie I feare neauer to take force,
thoughe I with manye sholde thearin consulte,
and crye theare vpon eauyn till wee ware horse. 480
Pryuate Commoditye withe Commonwealthe to scorse:¹
as Rentis to come downe from owterage so hye
too Price indifferent to helpe manye bye. 483

Rents must be lowered.

[13]

Theis raginge Rentis muste bee loked vpon,
and brought vnto tholde accustomed Rente,
as they weare let att ffortie yearis agona :
then shalbe plentie and moste men content, 487
thoughe grete Possessioners liste not tassent :
Yeate, bettre it weare their Rentis to bringe vndre, 489
then Thowsandis Thowsandis to perische for hungre.

and fixed at what they were 40 years before.

[14]

In whiche youre highnes this ordre maye take,
discreit men of youre cownsell too assigne
that wilbee corrupted for no mannys sake :
and theye withe helpe their endeuer tenclynes, 494
ouer youre Royalme wheare this is owte of lyne.
Growndis and ffermys to peruse and surueye :
Rentis to reforme that bee owte of the weya. 497

leaf 62, back.
Commissioners to be appointed to value all farms,

[15]

And as their Wisedoms (withe Conscience) shall see
(the soyle consydered, barayne or fertyle)
the Owners (by them) ordered too bee
their Rentis tabete, enhauenced so longe while. 501
Pryuate Commoditye to put to exile,
ratynge the same indifferentlie so :
the ffermers to lyue and by them oother moe. 504

and to fix the rents.

[16]

Not in thralldome and pynchinge penurye,
to bee as drudges vnto their landelordis ;
but as yeomen becomethe honestlie,
and of Goddys lawe conuenyantethe the conchordis. 508
at too muche bondage Englische hartis remordis.

The English yeomanry to be supported.

¹ Bargain, exchange.

for what kinge heere will lyue honorably,
hee muste then make of **Englande Yeomanrye.** 511

[17]

since they are the
chief stay of the
country.

Ffor they (all men knowethe) are the maior parte,
whiche by all lawes ought to bee seene vntoo
speciallye with the moste intentife harte :
sithe they for their princis their daylie labour doo, 515
the myndis of whome they can no bettre woo,
(to lyue and dye in furderinge their enquestis)
then to see mayntened their olde enterestis. 518

[18]

leaf 64.
Exemption of fines
for leases to be
stoppied.

Suche poore luynges as their fathers dyd enioye,
meanly to lyue their lyues to contynue.
Alas, a pooreman it greatlie dothe annoye :
when hee for a luyng shall eauermore sue, 522
and with the non assurauice hym-selfe can indue,
Custome nor Copie can keepe hym In scace :¹
if fawnynge fyne attemptethe his lordis graca. 525

[19]

Oppressive land-
lords will all go
to the devil.

Though he bee dyuylische that byddeth for it so,
more diuylische is hee that thearto dothe graunte :
And for their dooinges shall too the Dyuyl go :
els false vnto vs is Goddis couenaunte ; 529
for hee them cursethe and byddithe auauante,
that so procurethe his Neighbours lyvinge.
to see heereunto sittethe thoffice of A kinge. 532

[20]

since for hore's
sake they force
poor farmers to go
a-bagging.

For what is it in fferme or Copye holde,
or oother semblable habitation,
owte of the same to bee bought and sold
for lucres sake to the lordis contention :
the sealye Pooreman by suche euasion
withe wief and children so forced to go begge
so they maye profite they passe not an egge. 536
539

[21]

and take away
from him his
little plot of
ground.

Another disordre of oppression,
aduerte this wone whiche is muche odyous.
A lorde geaun to pryuate affection,
lettinge the pooreman an olde rotten howse, 543
which hath (to the same) profyttes commodious
As Cloase, and Common, with Lande in the feilde :
but noate well heere howe the poaremaz is peeldes. 546

¹ Scarcely, hardly.

[22]

The howse shall hee haue and A gardeyne plott,
but stonde hee muste to the reperation :
Close, Comon, or Londe fallithe none to his lott ;
that beste myght helpe to his sustentation. 550
the whoale Rente payethe hee for his habitation,
as though hee dyd thappurtenauncis possesse.
suche scare oppression neadethe speadye redresse. 553

leaf 64, back.
Commons are
enclosed, but the
rent is the same;

[23]

Thoughe some will obiecte hee is the more Asse
so to bargayne to bringe hym in thraldome :
hee can none otherwise bringe it to passe :
els muste hee paye largelie for his Income. 557
To settle hym selfe place muste hee haue some ;
his wief and childrenee in like maner wise,
Whoe for pure penurye, ofte waterethe their iyse. 560

for how can a
poor man help
himself?

[24]

Thus thorowe Rentes reysinge and pillinge the poore,
Pouertie regmeth and is induced mucche :
compelled to begge nowe from doore to doore :
as (tyll owre tyme) hathe not beene herde of suche. 564
Your highnes, O prince, this case dothe sore tuche,
for chieffie youre Crowne to this intent yee weare,
wrongs to reforme that Equite may rule bear. 567

This is a matter
for the king to see
into.

[25]

No right it is the pooare to bee so vsed,
and some to the Dyuyll thorough Richesse to flytt,
Christian Charite of them refused :
which drowned Dyues in the deepe hell pytt, 571
More occasion to treate on this as yeitt,
is wheare some wone the lyuynges dothe possesse
of twoe thowsandis well knowne to bee nolesse. 574

One should not be
allowed to hold
the "livings" of
two thousand.

[26]

Firste in goode Rentes a thowsande powndis or more
in fiermys and Abbeys coequall to the same ;
Reuenues by sheepe thowsandis by tayle score,
Oxon, and Neate, greate multytude to name. 578
Personages of profites wondrefull in fame,
And yeat is as greadye more to procure :
as hym to mayntayne this weare but small sure. 581

leaf 65.
While the rich
hold farms and
abbey-lands
worth thousands
of pounds,

[27]

And what hee onys into his clampus catche maye,
the pooreman thearof no peece shall come bye ;

the poor man has
not even a plot on

xcviii* LORDS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO ENGAGE IN TRADE.

which to graze a horse. **Cowe Leayse, Horse grasse, or one loade of Haye,** 585
thoughe hee before had theare for his monye,
his chargis (hee saithe) are so passinge hye,
that for hym selfe all is little ynowgne:
yeat on his whoale growndis hee keapeth not one plowghe. 588

[28]

But yet he dare not open his lipa. **To speake or repyne aganste his fell factes,** 592
Alas! theare dare none their lippes to open;
the like togithers hathe dryuen suche compactes
that truthe into an whoale is nowe cropen,
and for his tawlke his hedde all to-broken:
the more is the pite, Conscience knowithe.
goode kinge, thearfore searche wheare suche Darnell¹ growithe. 595

[29]

Lords should try to gain the love of the poor, **And set an ordre of reformation** 599
that eache maye lyue to his gree accordinge;
Dukes and Lordis of highe domynation
ouer the people to haue thorderinge,
that the meane sorte abowte them borderinge
maye lyue by them and their neighbours become
by Christian loue, and not holdes in thraldome. 602

leaf 65, back.

and not give themselves to trade, **For lordys and men of highe nobilitie,** 606
or oother indude with the possessions greate,
to vse thoffice of thinferior degree,
to choppe and chaunge, aduantages to geate,
as Merket men dothe, it sittethe not their feate:
or fiermys tancroche whiche oother myght releue; 608
suche doinges, (nodowbte,) dothe many hertes greeue.

[30]

thus causing poverty in the country. **I will not saye all that neadethe to be saide,** 613
to longe then sholde I heere tyme occupye:
but by suche meanys **Common Wealthe** is decaide,
and hathe (heere of late) cawsed great owte crye
by muche disordre moste sclauderously;
cheif to them selfes to worke so withoute witt,
and next to those that weare cawsers of itt. 616

[31]

If their expenses are great, let them reduce them. **If great bee their charges, the wiseman ought**
them to rebate accordinge to his stent²

¹ Coarse grass, weeds.

² Standing.

To keepe a porte, in hatrede to bee brought
thorowe manye whiche are inconuenient :
heide whos thearewithe will I will not assent.
bette is meane estate hatynge frindys manye
then highlie to ruffle¹ scace to fynde anye.

620

623

[33]

Moste merieste it is in eache Cowntrey
When euery degré obseruethis his dwe,
dame Justis lawe trulie to obeys :
theare maste then neadys great quietnes ensue.
And whears Division by grudge dothe renue
it breadethe nowght els but desolation
from all quyet Wealthe to dissipation.

Justis above all
preserves peace.

627

630 *leaf 6a.*

[34]

And all this makethe the goodis of the worlde,
for that will men toyle for that will men scathe ;
for that olde frendeshippe shalbe all to-chordis ;
the wone brother readye thother to dispache,
the soone withs the father also to mache,
by vtre diffiaunce his deathe to expte,
thoughe thousandis fer the like hath into hell dropte.

Men cannot fasse
their riches with
them after death ;

634

636

[35]

The highest of all that regneth in estate
hath (in this worlde) but meate drinke and vesture :
then what dothe mennys myndis so intoxicate
inordynatlye to toyle for treasure ;
purchacinge thearbye so muche displeasure
bothe of God and their neighbours heire neaddinge,
whiche hungrethe ofte soare through their fatt feedinge.

then why shold
they so toll for
them ?

641

[36]

Off this this tyme I will nomore entreat,
by wone woorde the wise perceave can the whoale ;
I doo this mateir but roughlye heire beate :
the disposition, partelye and soale,
O noble kyng, belongethe to youre doale,
as to perceave the Comonwealthe noyaunce
and for the same to deuise ordynaunce.

To see after all
this is the duty of
a king.

648

651

[37]

So that the Pooare bee eaner seene vntoe,
the Riche hym selfe will sure saue harmelease.
A little hynderaunee the poore dothe vndoe
and can no remedye againste distresse

656

¹ Show off. ² Utterly broken. ³ Share, portion.

but still susteyneth the all busynesse,
Thoughe Drudges muste bee yeat Christian loue wolde
that iuste rewarde redownde to them sholde. 658

leaf 68, back.

To thresh all day
for three-half
pence is a poor
fee.

A labourer shold
be paid fairly for
his work.

sevenpence or
eightpence a day,
according to the
season.

Sheep-farms
should be abol-
ished and built
on;

leaf 67.

then there would
be room enough
for all.

Too Thresche alldaye for peanye haulfe-peanye,
and Delue in ditches upp to the harde kneeis
for like valure, howe can hee lyue thearbye ?
God wote it risethe but to a small ffeeis, 662
with that he laieth vpp hee maye well bye Beeis,
and after go begge when Age on hym dothe fall : 664
for nougates can he saue to helpe hym then with all.

[38]

A laborer trulie doinge his duetye,
(aswell the woman, I meane, as the man)
let them haue for their traueile worthelye :
so shall they delyte to doo what they can, 669
els will they loighter euernowe and than,
comptinge as gode to bee ydle vnwrought
as soare to traueile and profitie right nowght. 672

[39]

So ordre that eache doinge their labour
iustelie and trulie with the moste diligence,
may bee worthe them and theirs to succour,
fyndinge them selfes on shorteste daies sexpense, 676
And oother lengre, as the Soone takethe ascense,
seauyn or eight pense ; so shall they bee able
meanlye to lyue, and mayntayne their Cradle. 679

[40]

And Townes let downe to grase Sheape vpon
wiþe dwellinge howses as fermys and Abbeys.
reduced agayne to habitation,
for lack of which muche lyuynges nowe decayes 683
and dothe great hynderaunce as this wone waies.
Thowsandis thear bee that right gladlie wolde wedde
if they had holdinges to coauer their hedde. 686

[41]

Off Journeyemen and Seruymen also,
wiþe oother dyuerte of cure owne nation
that nowe a roauyng in ootheris growndis go,
to this Royalmys great depopulation ; 690
At whiche the heauynge maketh exclamacion,
burdeynyng your grace by othe that yee haue take
of this, as yee can, redresse wiþe spedee to make. 693

C

ENGLAND
IN THE
REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

BY
THOMAS STARKEY.

PART II.
THE DIALOGUE.

